FATEHGARH

AND

THE MUTINY

BY

LT.-COLONEL F. R. COSENS,
10TH BN., 7TH RAJPUT REGIMENT,
(The Lucknow Regiment),

AND

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It is hoped that the following pages contain a complete and accurate account of the events of the Mutiny in and around Fatehgarh. Regimental records vary very much in their completeness, and whereas the officers of some regiments seem to have been seized with an almost unanimous urge to place their personal experiences on paper, those of others had no such literary inclinations, which accounts for references to some being so much more frequent than those to others, in whose cases the Digest of Service, sometimes little more than a War Diary, has been all that was available.

Thanks are due to the Commanding Officers of regiments, British and Indian, who have so kindly lent their Regimental Histories, and also to the nameless 2nd Lieutenant who, for "one of the many sins which 2nd Lieutenants will commit", was condemned to wade through two large un-indexed volumes of letters, to see if they contained any reference to Fatehgarh.

Mr. Wallace, as a result of profound research in the masses of worm-eaten files in his office, has been entirely responsible for Chapters II to IV, VI, VII and XIII. Chapter X has been taken almost verbatim from the Gazetteer of 1884 and the Official Narrative.

Our grateful thanks are due to Captain V. C. A. Munckton, 1st Bn. 7th Rajput Regiment (Q. V. O. L. I.), for the care and skill with which he has prepared the maps and plans.

Modern spelling has been adopted throughout the book.

F. R. C.

FATEHGARH:
November, 1932.

ADDENDA.

The Authors are indebted to Captain H. Bullock for the following information.

Mrs. STURT. She was the daughter of Major Louis Derridon, of Scindia's service, by his wife Ellen, daughter of Colonel E. Pedron, also of that service. She was thus closely related to the Hessings, Sutherlands, General Perron and other military adventurers. By her marriage to R. R. Sturt she linked these with two later Viceroys, Lords Northbrook and Hardinge.

Mrs. Mary THORNHILL. She was the grand-daughter of the famous actress, Mrs. Siddons. Her father, George John Siddons, was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1803 to 1838, having obtained a Writership in the East India Company's Service through the Prince Regent.

Ensign Reginald Sutherland BYRNE. He was the second son of Wale Byrne (1803-1855), a once well-known Anglo-Indian leader in Calcutta. He is an instance of the unusual circumstance of an Anglo-Indian getting a Commission in the regular Bengal Army. His two brothers obtained Commissions in the 77th and 53rd Foot respectively.

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MAPS AND PLANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATION AND DISTRICT IN 1857.

AT the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 the Civil Station and Cantonment of Fatehgarh had fallen far since the spacious days when Commissioners and other high officials abounded, and the garrison contained troops of all arms, their cantonments extending down the Cawnpore road as far as Kamalganj. The Civil officials consisted of a Magistrate and a Judge, and the garrison of one Infantry Regiment, the 10th N. I. There was also the personnel of the Gun-Carriage Factory in the Fort, and the Clothing Agency on the site of the present Municipal Gardens. The Barhpur and Rakha Missions were in existence, and other non-officials were indigo planters and merchants, and some of the staff of Maharajah Duleep Singh, left behind to look after his property when he went to England. A full list of those who were in the station at the outbreak of the Mutiny will be found in Appendix IV.

The Lines of the 10th Native Infantry were on what is now the parade ground, opposite Nos. 19 and 20 bungalows. Their Quarter Guard was well away from the Lines, in the direction of the present day Quarter Guard. On the site of the present Church was a bungalow occupied by a Mr. Madden, employed in the Clothing Agency, and close to it was the rifle range. Both these figure in subsequent events. Colonel Smith, Commandant of the 10th N. I., occupied a bungalow on the site of the present Officers' Mess. This was on Maharajah Duleep Singh's estate, and until his departure for England in 1856 had been occupied by Sir John Login, his guardian. A fuller description of the station will be found in Chapter II.

Of the inhabitants of the District, those who concern this narrative most closely are the Bangash Pathans of Kaimganj and its neighbourhood, the head of which clan was the Nawab of Farrukhabad, Tafazzul Hussain Khan. The family deserves more than passing mention.

The first Nawab of Farrukhabad and founder of the city was one Mohamed Khan. His father, Malik Ain Khan, a Bangash Afghan, came to India and settled and married in Mau Rashidabad in the reign of Alamgir Aurangzeb. Mohamed Khan was born in that place (which is now little more than a site, a mile north-east of Kaimganj) in 1665, and from the age of twenty used to join the bands of freelances who went yearly down to Bundelkhand and hired their services to the Rajahs of that province. In a very short time he himself became a distinguished leader of these bands. The following story exemplifies his resourcefulness, strength and courage. At the head of some 300 horsemen he was attacking a fort on behalf of a Bundelkhand Rajah. Assault had failed, and siege was showing no better results. One side of the fort was protected by a sheet of water which the defending Rajah considered large and deep enough to require no other defence. One night Mohamed Khan, with several active and well-armed followers, swam the tank and entered the fort with the aid of a tree. The Rajah was sleeping close by, and being woken by their unexpected arrival shouted for help and fled. He took refuge in a room, but Mohamed Khan followed him in and killed him. While this was going on the Rajah's retainers had turned out and killed all Mohamed Khan's men, and Mohamed Khan himself was shut into the room with his victim. With the aid of his shield he applied his head to a beam in the roof, and pushed to such effect that he burst a hole through it, severely mauling his ears in the process. As he was struggling to get the rest of his body through the hole the Rajah's women made a fresh attack on him with their rice pestles and brass vessels. This caused him further inconvenience, but eventually he got through, brushed the women aside and escaped by the same tree which had helped him in, returning to the camp by swimming. Next day, having lost their Rajah, the occupants of the fort surrendered. For the rest of his life Nawab Mohamed Khan's ears pained him whenever an east wind blew.

It was not till 1713 that he really emerged from obscurity. In that year he took a contingent of 12,000 men to assist Farrukhsiyar contest the empire against his cousin Jahandar Shah (having first ascertained which side was most likely to win!) and at the decisive battle at Samodar

in Agra district so distinguished himself in the hottest of the fighting that he received the title of Nawab, a robe of honour, the rank of commander of 4000, an elephant and other presents, and a fief of eight pargannahs in Bundelkhand. After some further fighting he got permission to return to his home, and occupied himself with founding the towns of Kaimganj and Mohamedabad. The former, as mentioned above, is close to the Nawab's birthplace, and was named after his eldest son Kaim Khan. The latter is some 14 miles from Farrukhabad on the road to Bewar. On a high mound called 'Kal ka khera' the Nawab built a fort, of which only the ruins now remain. In one of the bastions he walled up a Kanungo who had offended him some years previously by refusing to inscribe his name in the records as owner of the village on the same site. The highest point has been used as a point of the Trigonometrical Survey of India.

It is said that Farrukhsiyar, the Emperor, was angry at hearing that Mohamed Khan had founded a town bearing his own name, and that to appease his wrath the Nawab announced his intention of founding another city and naming it after the Emperor. About this time the Nawab's father-in-law, Kasim Khan, while on his way home with loot from Bundelkhand, was set upon and murdered by Bamtela Rajputs near what is now Kasimbagh in the Cantonment area, and Mohamed Khan thereupon asked for, and obtained, the grant of fifty-two Bamtela villages as the site of the new city, Farrukhabad. The foundations were laid in 1714. Kasim Khan was buried where he fell, and one arch of his tomb still stands.

From then until his death in 1743 Nawab Mohamed Khan was continually fighting, either on his own account or at the behest of the Emperor. His material fortunes varied. He lost his Bundelkhand fief, but received Bhojpur and Shamsabad in this district, and also the title of 'Ghazanfar-i-Jang', the Lion of War. His relations with the Emperors also varied, for in 1739, when he was returning from visiting Nadir Shah in Delhi, he was followed by an imperial army which had orders to eject him from his dominions. Not being well himself he sent his second and third sons, Akbar Khan and Ahmed Khan, to oppose it. The two armies met at Sikandra Rao in Aligarh district, and the Nawab's troops were

victorious. After the victory was won Ahmed Khan turned his camel swivel guns on to his brother and killed him. At the beginning of the action Akbar Khan had insulted him by asking him what he meant by bringing his elephant alongside that of his elder brother!

As stated, Mohamed Khan died in 1743. He was a man of great energy, and his habits were simple and soldierly. His hospitality was great, and he was neither boastful nor overbearing. He was, however, cruel and vindictive, and appreciably licentious. He had only one legal wife, who died in 1769. About three hours before his death, to show the strength which God had given him, he took his bow and arrow and, aiming at the roof above his head, released the arrow with such force that it was buried up to its head in the wood. His family consisted of 22 sons and 22 daughters. Of the sons, 7 were killed in battle, 9 died by violence, and only 6 died a natural death. At his death his territory consisted of the whole of this District, the western half of Cawnpore, practically the whole of Mainpuri and Etah, and parts of Budaun, Shahjahanpur, Aligarh and Etawah.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Kaim Khan, also a very fine soldier and sportsman, who was killed in action against the Rohillas in 1748. His successor was the first Nawab's eleventh son, Imam Khan. In 1749 the Emperor Ahmed Shah, attended by Safdar Jang and a large army, came to Aligarh to resume the Bangash territory, and managed to do so through some trickery on the part of Safdar Jang and Nawal Rai. The Bibi Sahiba (Mohamed Khan's wife) was confined at Kanauj, but managed to escape, and five of Mohamed Khan's sons were also arrested and sent to Allahabad. When the Bibi Sahiba escaped to Farrukhabad she taunted the Pathans with their meek submission, and Ahmed Khan, Mohamed Khan's second son, who had murdered his brother Akbar, was placed at the head of the movement to recover their lands. He was not popular with the Bibi Sahiba, and his treachery during Kaim Khan's rule had led to an order for his execution, to avoid which he had fled. On Kaim Khan's death he had returned, and had been living in penury at Farrukhabad. Money was raised from local men of wealth, and by looting, and in July 1750 the Pathan army marched against Nawal Rai at Kanauj.

The latter entrenched himself on the Kali Nadi at Khudaganj, but Ahmed Khan, (styled Ghalib-i-Jang), with 12,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry, made a detour at night, got into the hostile camp and killed Nawal Rai. The rest of the Army fled. Ahmed Khan then returned to Farrukhabad to meet Safdar Jang, who was advancing through Mainpuri with 22,000 men. Safdar Jang immediately ordered the death of Mohamed Khan's five sons in Allahabad, and also that of five other hostages who were in Delhi. The two armies met on the 13th September 1750 five miles west of Patiali in Etah District, and Ahmed Khan was victorious, Safdar Jang being wounded. Ahmed Khan proceeded towards Delhi, but was met by a conciliatory charter from the Emperor and returned to Farrukhabad.

In March 1751 the Emperor obtained the assistance of the Mahrattas, and again advanced against Ahmed Khan. After a temporary success the Pathans were badly beaten and fled into the Rohilla country, the Mahrattas occupying Fatehgarh. The Pathans eventually entrenched themselves at the foot of the Himalayas, with the aid of the Rajah of Almora, and all efforts to dislodge them failed. In the early part of 1752 terms were proposed, and Ahmed Khan agreed to take over the Emperor's debt to the Mahrattas for their part in the campaign, alienating half his former territory as security for the debt.

From then onwards Ahmed Khan appears to have been on good terms with the Emperor, and in 1760 accompanied Ahmed Shah to Panipat, where he remained till the crowning victory over the Mahrattas on the 7th January 1751. The Mahrattas then retired from northern India and Ahmed Khan seized the opportunity to recover most of his forfeited territory, but in 1769 they reappeared and by 1771 had again got back much of their former possessions. In that year Nawāb Ahmed Khan died. He was a weak but ambitious character, and he had greatness thrust upon him. In spite of his having murdered his brother he is said to have been a kindhearted man, who preferred building palaces and hearing music to politics. He was succeeded by his son Daler Himmat Khan, Muzaffar-i-Jang, aged 13 or 14 at the time of his succession, and with whom commences the fading away of power of the Farrukhabad Nawabs. About 1772-73 the

Bangash territory somehow became tributary to Oudh, and paid four to four and a half lakhs a year to Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. From 1777 this tribute was assigned for the payment of the British troops stationed at Fatehgarh.

Muzaffar-i-Jang's reign was mainly notable for oppression and the number of Prime Ministers he had in succession. He withdrew all pensions from his cousins, Nawab Mohamed Khan's descendants, who only recovered them twelve years later through the intervention of the English. He died in 1796, poisoning being suspected, and the crime being brought home to his eldest son, who was deported.

After some dispute he was succeeded by his second son, Imdad Hussain, Nasir-i-Jang. Actually the reins of Government were left in the hands of Amin-ud-daula, Muzaffar-i-Jang's brother-in-law, Nasir-i-Jang merely getting an allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year. Like his father, he was only 13 or 14 years of age on his succession. He was principally interested in music, kite flying, and pigeons. He was also an excellent singer. Amin-ud-daula later reduced his allowance to Rs. 25,000 a year, whereupon he proceeded to Bareilly, and on the 4th June 1802 signed a treaty ceding his country to the British in exchange for an allowance of Rs. 1,08,000 a year for himself and his dependents. This was the source of inspiration for the Persian couplet, of which the following is a free translation :—

> By the Nawab were begotten two degenerate sons.
> One poison gave, the other up the city.

He died in 1813, having drunk himself to death at the age of 30. He was succeeded by his son Khadim Hussain, Shaukat-i-Jang, who was ten years old, and who died of small-pox in Delhi in 1823. His successor was his son Tajammul Hussain Khan, Zafar-i-Jang, who was not a year old. He died childless in 1846 and was himself succeeded by his cousin Tafazzul Hussain, the 9th and last ruling Nawab, who, in February 1857 was endeavouring to obtain the style of 'Highness' from the British. Like his more recent predecessors he lacked the virile qualities of the founder of his line, and was, on the whole, a man of weak character.

From the above very brief resumé of the history of the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad it will be seen that they had, until comparatively recent years, been masters of a very considerable territory, and although the Nawabs had allowed themselves to degenerate as the result of soft and luxurious living they still had the desire for independence, and the cession made by Nasir-i-Jang rankled. Around them were many who had these same ideas, backed up by energy, and it will therefore be obvious that the Pathans of the District provided fertile soil for the seeds of Mutiny.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE THE STORM.

SEVENTY-FIVE years have passed away since that fateful day, when the bad news of murder and rapine at Meerut sped to Fatehgarh post haste down the Grand Trunk Road. It was the 14th May, a day of hot winds and glaring sunlight, when the chief residents met together in the old thatched bungalow of Mr. Probyn, the Collector, where now stands the more pretentious house of the District Judge. A hurried summons went out; for the district was full of the most alarming rumours, and the records show in bald language how the bazars were seething with excitement. Precautionary measures had to be taken; and in the light of after events it is of intense interest to know what manner of men these were, who sat beneath the swaying punkah that day of burning heat; to glean some morsel of information from the faded papers in the Collector's office about the appearance of the station and its two hundred odd residents, all but a dozen of whom perished in the Fort or on the Ganges or fell shot to pieces on the parade grounds of Fatehgarh and Cawnpore.

The chief actors in the scene were the Duffel Regiment, as the 10th N. I. was always styled. The Telungas, to use a contemporary expression for the rank and file, lay in their thatched mud-walled barracks along the edge of the parade ground, which stretched from the present Cantonment office up to the Dak Bungalow. Avenues of stately nim trees and a few wells mark the site. The men were no different in appearance to the Brahmans, Rajputs and Ahirs of modern Fatehgarh, and were recruited from adjoining districts and from Oudh. Mussalmans were mixed with them and included six of the Jemadars, who behaved with more credit perhaps than did the Subadars. Among the latter Misr Shankar achieved more than common notoriety by his dexterity in purloining the bulk of the Government treasure. His brother officers showed no such capacity.

They were distinguished rather for lack of spirit, and were careful after a short career of authority to efface themselves in an obscurity, from which it has not been possible to make them emerge. Neither they nor the rank and file under them, to which they were akin in social status, were in any way noteworthy. The Telungas, in fact, were no different to any of their caste, who could be found today in the villages around Fatehgarh; and except for the Memorial Church and Cantonment Office, their parade ground presents now identically the same appearance. The Quarter Guard would appear to have been at the present Cantonment Office, or between it and the Church, and had two serviceable guns in position in front of it. Standing in front of the Quarter Guard one would have seen to the west a yellow thatched bungalow occupying the space of the Memorial Church and the Church Compound; while still further west on the other side of the yellow bungalow the rifle range would have been visible, the firing point being below the compound wall, and the targets just beyond the present Circular Road. It is well to mark this spot with exactness; for two months later it acquired a tragic significance.

The parade ground proper did not extend westerly beyond the Diggi Tank. Beyond that was the camping ground, overlooked, as it is now, by the spire of the old Church. The commonest sight must have been groups of the Telungas of the Duffel Regiment, wearing scarlet coatees with dark green facings, their nether limbs encased in long shapeless pantaloons of black broadcloth, of which they made haste to get rid at the first opportunity, and exchange for the more popular loin cloth. They had no boots, but marched in sandals, resembling the chapli, if not exactly the same as that footgear. Cotton blouses were also worn; while the Indian Officers were distinguished of course by epaulettes, white cotton gloves, and better made slippers or even boots. The officer too made up his own turban, which sat well on his head. The sepoy on the contrary parted company with his turban, if he ran at the double; for it was made up permanently for him in one piece, and had generally to be held on by one hand. Each sepoy was paid seven rupees a month.

The regiment was an old one of the era of Clive. It fought at Buxar and Korah in the eighteenth century. It was no stranger to

Fatehgarh. Sir John Littler, one of its most distinguished officers and then an ensign, had with his company faced the Mahratta invaders on the parade-ground fifty-three years before. John Coke, who raised the present 1st. Bn. (Coke's) 13th F. F. Rifles, was an officer of this regiment from 1827 onwards; and another was Thompson, one of the famous band of Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry, who accompanied General Havelock to Lucknow. In 1855 it arrived at Fatehgarh from Burmah. By crossing the sea the men had lost caste in the army, and contemptuously were known as the "Christian Regiment". They were kindly disposed to their officers, but discipline appears not to have been good. No personal account of this regiment has been found. There are no muster rolls left; and the sepoys after the rebellion sank their identity into that of cultivators of the soil as quickly as they could. One of them at least was alive in 1915 at Sirhpura village in the adjoining district of Etah, a very aged Thakur reluctant to speak even after the lapse of fifty-eight years.

No officers of the 10th, present with the regiment at Fatehgarh, survived to relate their reminiscences. With the exception of Mr. Probyn, the Magistrate and Collector, no other survivor has anything to say about them. The records do mention some officers like Colonel Smith, Captains Bignell and Phillimore, with frequency: and it is to be presumed that these were the officers best known to local Indian residents.

The Army List for 1857 was undoubtedly drafted at the end of 1856, and the information it contains creates a few difficulties. The regiment arrived from Burmah in April, 1855, and replaced the 2nd N. I. Fatehgarh must have been a popular Cantonment; for large numbers of the men came from surrounding districts and were near their homes. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith commanded; and the second in command was Captain Munro, of whom the witnesses in the post-Mutiny trials make no mention, and the records do not register a single action. He was, however, called Major Munro, and as such will more conveniently be styled in these pages. There were nine other British officers with the regiment, when the Mutiny broke out, one of whom, Ensign Byrne, joined only six months before. In November 1856 he was "unranked", and must have been posted to the 10th too late to allow of his name being

included in the regimental list for 1857. Of his presence at Fatehgarh there is no doubt at all. He is described on the monument in the Churchyard, and the records mention his name.

A chance remark in Sir William Russell's Mutiny diary reveals that the European Kotwal of Cawnpore in 1858 married a Mrs. Byrne, who with her mother had been saved from the Fatehgarh massacres by the Nawab of Farrukhabad. The coincidence of name and place is certainly striking, and laborious search through the judicial papers laid bare a tale, the outline of which has only been faintly sketched by the Magistrate. There was indeed some reluctance to place on record details of an alliance, which had been an unconcealed scandal in the old drowsy Cantonment during the earlier part of the year. Identities are veiled behind dashes and initials, and adopting the style of the witnesses the Magistrate familiarly referred to the lady by her nickname of "Bonny". The story is not of any particular interest now, but it must be mentioned in this place as one which was oft discussed in 1857 by contemporary residents, and so assists the student of those bygone days to absorb the atmosphere surrounding the events which just preceded the Outbreak.

Mrs. Byrne was a young Anglo-Indian girl, still in her 'teens, who a year or two before the Mutiny lived with her widowed mother in a small thatched house in that congested area between the Cantonment and the Civil Station. To go back further, it is hinted that she was the daughter of a Major ...., and more information than that has not been vouchsafed to us. Her origin has been discreetly hidden, the conduct of her mother no doubt making it desirable; and it is merely noteworthy that the frequent calls at the house by the Nawab of Farrukhabad, and the growing of an ill-concealed intimacy with that licentious dignitary, gave great offence to the authorities. As will be shown in a later chapter, the Cantonment residents had been excited some years previously over the action of another young Anglo-Indian girl, who eloped with one of the Nawab's brothers from No. 12 bungalow. To prevent a recurrence of so unsavoury an affair, and to indicate definitely to the Nawab that the station of Fatehgarh was not a recruiting area for

his harem, the authorities deported the object of his affections to the Kidderpur Girls' School at Calcutta. She could not then have been more than eleven or twelve years old, since her age in June 1857 is stated to be fourteen years only.

The next scene in the story naturally takes place in Calcutta. In 1856 Ensign Byrne landed at that place and, in accordance with the regulations for the training of cadets, more honoured in the breach at this period, was ordered to report to an officer, who was appointed to receive cadets on their arrival, and look after them until they were posted to their regiments. There was a Mess in the Fort, of which they could become members, or else they could live where they liked in the town, if they had friends to entertain them. The result in either case was that the newly arrived cadet was left to his own resources in order to kill time often for many months, and his mode of life has been well described by the annalist of an earlier period in Calcutta.

" Thus not a man would go to drill
    While jackals could be found to kill;
Nor would they ever douse their lights
    At the established hour at nights,
Carousing till the drum had played
    And vainly called them to parade. "

Ensign Byrne has left little or no impress of his personality. His hasty marriagé, made without the slightest reflection or common sense, indicates that he was more careless and headstrong than the average cadet; and his period of waiting at Calcutta was as profitless as that usually passed by such individuals on their first introduction to the country. It was not long before he met the exile from Fatehgarh, who less than anybody ever dreamed she would see that place again.

The Kidderpur School at this period appears to have been a convivial establishment, which under some covering of decorum was nothing more or less than a marriage bureau. The School Committee were accustomed to give balls, to which the young cadets were given special invitation with a measure of cordiality only exceeded by that of the cadets in accepting it. In this free and easy manner Miss.........became settled in

life with Ensign Byrne; and when that young gentleman was posted to the 10th Native Infantry early in 1857 the residents at Fatehgarh were stupefied by the reappearance of a family, now to be part of the official society of the station, of which they fondly hoped the last had been seen. As could only be expected, relations with the Nawab were established again; and when Ensign Byrne was fighting in the gallant defence of the Fort, his wife and mother found refuge in the Nawab's palace, where their presence aroused a storm with the direst results for many of their own community. It would be too much to say that their ignoble conduct was the sole cause of the parade ground massacre, but as a subsequent chapter will relate, it was no mean one in contributing to that tragedy.

In the Army List for 1858 Ensign Eckford is shown as a survivor. His fate at Cawnpore has been placed beyond doubt, and the Army List is wrong. He had one and a half years' service, and was married. Like his fellow Ensign he must have contracted his marriage in India. Particulars, however, are wanting; and it is strange that both these young subalterns are responsible for scenes in the Mutiny drama at Fatehgarh, which excite interest not so greatly in the story of their own doings as in that of the adventures of their wives. No other ladies connected with the regiment occupy so much space in the district records.

There were seven officers out of the regiment in staff and civil employ or serving with local battalions. Two were on furlough. Four officers are in the list who were not in Fatehgarh with the regiment. The records do not mention them, and they may have been on short leave in the hills. They reappear in 1858. An officer named Lieutenant Law, also away from Fatehgarh, joined the army before Delhi and was killed in the siege.

Colonel George Acklom Smith by modern standards was a very senior officer. He was but sixteen years of age when he entered the Army; and although forty-four years of his life had been passed in India he was still an active man. He had come to the regiment from the 47th N. I. which he also commanded from 1848 for some six years at least. He served in the Nepal campaign of 1814-1816 and was present at the

storming and taking of the heights of Makwanpur, receiving the medal for the campaign. He was also engaged in the Mahratta War of 1817-1819, and the storming of the fort at Mandlah. As these wars do not appear among the battle honours of the 47th N. I. he must have been with some other Regiment earlier in his service, but this has not been identified. His part in the Fatehgarh tragedy was a leading one and inevitably he has come in for very severe criticism, in particular at the hands of Trevelyan in his account of the rising at Cawnpore. "He was a man," writes Trevelyan, "distinguished by courage so allied with rashness, and firmness so nearly akin to obstinacy, that the European residents could not have fared worse had they been under the charge of a waverer or a coward. He was a zealous adherent of that sect among the Bengal officers, which worshipped the sepoy."

These are hard words, and subsequent descriptions by Trevelyan appear to be mere expansions of a few words in the records, which, it is true, show Colonel Smith as stiff necked and obstinate. His position was not an easy one. The 10th took a long time to break into active mutiny. The men hesitated for long to throw discipline aside, even though goaded into sedition by the Nawab of Farrukhabad's agents. The Grenadier and Light Companies, two out of ten, were affected from the first; and the discipline of all was not satisfactory. It should be admitted that the Commanding Officer did not wholly share the optimism of the other officers. He stated explicitly that he could rely on only 150 men. There were faithful Sikhs in the regiment. Many, both Hindus and Mohamedans, gave evidence as witnesses after the Mutiny. There was every reason to believe that a small number would be loyal. It was the junior officers who more properly belonged to the sect described by Trevelyan. Ensign Henderson protested personally to the Collector against aspersions cast on the regiment. Captain Bignell left his comrades in the Fort without leave in order to join four companies absconding with the Government treasure, in the misguided belief he could keep them to the Colours. A very acute observer of events at Fatehgarh, Isan Chandar Deb, a Gun Carriage Agency official, states that there would have been no Mutiny at all, if the Nawab had assisted Colonel Smith in June. Bad characters there were in

the Grenadier Company, but even their disaffection found no vent, until the Nawab invited the Sitapur mutineers into the Station. Of lack of foresight, however, failure to prepare a place of refuge, and arrange to keep in touch with all the miscellaneous residents of Cantonments and Civil Station, the Commander cannot be absolved. Several plans were made and thrown aside; and as will be noticed later many families did not know what to do, until a few hours before they embarked on their fatal journey down the Ganges. There was an appalling lack of staff work. Only the chief residents were called to the two meetings held to discuss the situation; and the sole orders issued to the others were contained in one circular letter, which directed them to go into the Fort on two guns being fired. A scathing commentary on this order can be made, when it is known for certain that no attempt was made to provision or arm the Fort; and even a month later the besieged were forced to defend their lives by firing bags of screws, scrap-iron and the heads of sledge hammers at their assailants. The officer who earned the best reputation was Captain Vibart, and he did not even belong to Fatehgarh. The officers of the garrison were conspicuous for their nullity; and the impression one gains from a perusal of the records is that Colonel Smith stood very much alone, dependent on a Cavalry Captain, a mere bird of passage, who voluntarily took upon his own shoulders the whole burden of staff work and district administration in addition. The truest part of Trevelyan's remarks is that Colonel Smith was obstinate. Unfortunately this was only too true, as events showed.

His second in command was only nine years his junior in age; for Major Robert Munro had joined as far back as 1827 and had thirty years regimental service to his credit. Four out of the remaining nine officers were unmarried, and lived in No. 16 Bungalow, which was rented from Mrs. Hannah Collins for an Officers' Mess. The records mention them as Major Munro, Lieutenants Simpson and Swetenham, and Ensign Henderson. Henderson, a young man of twenty-four, was Adjutant, and junior by one year to Lieutenant Swetenham, who was born in the regiment at Cawnpore in 1832, his father then serving in it with the rank of Captain Little could he have foreseen that within two short months he

would be done to death in sight of his birthplace, the victim of the men amongst whom he had passed nearly all his life.

The loss of the records and muster rolls make it difficult to state any details with precision. Certain of the Indian Officers and sepoys won notoriety of a dismal kind, either as accused standing their trial after the Mutiny or as unwilling witnesses. They will appear later in their place; but of some who were attached to the regiment there is passing mention along with that of the regimental officers. One was the doctor, Assistant Surgeon T. G. Heathcote, who lived in No. 19 Bungalow, which from the earliest times had ever been the abode of Army doctors. Quarter-Master Sergeant Redman was the only other Englishman attached to the regiment, Quarter-Master Sergeant Reid being presumably on leave.

Several names of members of the Band have survived; and it was one of the curiosities of the Mutiny that the rebel regiments punctiliously maintained their Bands. Mention of the Band of the 10th will often occur. As usual in those days the leading musicians were Anglo-Indians; and the only survivor of the Duffel Regiment of this class was Drum-Major Knowles. The Wrixons, father and son, were bandsmen, afterwards sharing the lot of the officers; while in the station were many ex-bandsmen living in retirement. The one place in Fatehgarh, which is haunted by old associations, is that rather useless excavation in the middle of the parade ground called the Diggi Tank, now the wrestling arena. Here for generations was the meeting place of the residents in days when there were no Clubs and no athletics. On this spot every Tuesday and Friday evening the band played; and it was the custom to drive there in the buggies, curricles and phæton carriages of the day, so that the ladies of the station could enjoy the only opportunity there was, besides an occasional dinner or dance, of meeting their neighbours and getting fresh air.

Of the officers' wives besides Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Phillott, Mrs. Eckford and Mrs. Fitzgerald, who were certainly at Fatehgarh in May 1857, there was the wife of Captain Phillimore away somewhere out of the station. Her ayah gave evidence at the trial of two men, found in possession of Captain Phillimore's property in the following year. In addition, very

mysterious is Mrs. Bignell, who suddenly appears in February 1858, eight months after her husband's death, and is sent to Allahabad by the Collector in charge of some of the ex-Nawab's zenana. Both Surgeon Heathcote and Sergeant Redman were married, and their wives were with them.

Including those mentioned already there would appear to have been ninety families in Fatehgarh, many with large numbers of children. Quite half the number were of Anglo-Indian origin and four hailed from America. Besides those stationed here for military service, there were Civil Service officers, indigo planters, tent manufacturers and merchants, army pensioners, clerks and their descendants. It is sufficient to describe here the chief only of those who met at Mr. Probyn's bungalow, on Thursday the 14th May.

Mr. Probyn could not have been more than half the age of Colonel Smith or Colonel Goldie, the Military Auditor General. He had exactly ten years service, and was only officiating as District Magistrate. One of the few survivors, he retired from India in 1877 and died in 1911. His last annual report miraculously escaped the destruction of the District office, and lies among the carefully preserved Mutiny records, many of which still show only too clearly the marks of the flames. It is good to read what he writes of Lowis, the young Joint Magistrate,—"Mr. Lowis has business-like habits, sound sense, general acquaintance with his duties, and excellent temper." Robert Nisbet Lowis had just reached his twenty-sixth year, and had served six years. He was married and had already a family of three children, looked after by a nurse, Miss Nancy Lang. More senior than these two Civilians was Mr. R. B. Thornhill, the District Judge, a man of much experience, who will be found occupying a prominent place in the Fatehgarh tragedy. With Colonels Smith and Goldie he was reserved for death at the very last. His family suffered heavily in the Mutiny. Four brothers and two nephews were serving in the province at the time, and three died, two being murdered. He was thirty-nine years old. Mrs. Thornhill and two children were with him, living in the thatched bungalow, now inhabited by the Superintendent of Police. This bungalow was next door to Mr. Probyn's place.

Opposite to Mr. Probyn lived Colonel Tucker, in charge of the Army Clothing Agency, whose thatched bungalow was close by the old banyan tree near to the Club Tennis Courts in the Company Garden. He was the son of a naval officer, and now exactly forty years old. He joined the service as a young cadet in 1832, and later became a Cornet in the 8th Light Cavalry. His wife and three children were in Fatehgarh.

Colonel Andrew Goldie was sixty-five years old in 1857. He had been Colonel of the 46th N. I., and was subsequently appointed Military Auditor General. His war service included Rewah, 1813; the Nepal war. 1814-1815; and the Mahratta war, 1816-1817. Mr. Gavin Jones, one of the survivors, speaks of his stentorian voice. "Goldie Sahib" was one of the best known of the officers. He figures often in the records of the judicial trials. The witnesses say they did what Goldie Sahib told them; and they tell of his foresight, and the orders he gave. It is easy to judge from their description that in Goldie was a strong masterful personality, who must have taken a leading part in that May meeting, and later on was to prove a tower of strength during the siege and flight down the Ganges. His three daughters were with him; and it is probable he was a widower. It is not clear why he should have been in Fatehgarh as Military Auditor General, unless he came in the course of a tour of inspection. One record vaguely indicates that he was on leave. No mention of his office and residence anywhere occurs. The Army List mentions him to have been a member of the Clothing Board; and it is more than likely that he came to inspect the Clothing Factory He belonged originally to the 69th N. I., and his length of service exceeded that of Colonel Smith by five years, his first commission being dated 1808.

More of certainty can be said of Major Alexander Robertson, the Gun Carriage Agent in the Fort. He belonged to an Edinburgh family, and was 37 years old. He was a Brevet Major of the Bengal Artillery, living in the Fort with his wife and child. Miss Thompson, a guest, was staying with him. The narratives of the survivors, Messrs. Gavin Jones and Churcher, are filled with references to him; and in a sense Major Robertson himself was a survivor, though ultimately dying of his wounds. He

lies in a lonely grave within a few miles of Fatehgarh on the opposite side of the Ganges.

These then were the chief residents, who gathered in Mr. Probyn's house on Thursday, the 14th May; and Mr. Probyn was forced indeed to outline to them a more than serious situation. Long before the news of the Meerut rising, there had been excitement and disorder througout the district. Civil records show that for years past the administration had not been strong enough; and the badness of the staff had been commented on by Mr. Probyn himself in severe terms. He reported to Government in 1856 that the Tahsil revenue offices were located in temporary sheds; the clerks were old, inefficient and corrupt; the staff at Headquarters was more efficient, but not less corrupt than that in the Tahsils; some of the men with the least work had the best pay; they were nearly all Hindus and formed a close corporation, screening each other's faults; the Record Keeper and three copyists had been dismissed without resulting in any improvement. Apart from bad staff, greater difficulties had been found in contending with the false rumours, which spread like lightning through the bazars. Government was said to be making flour of bone dust and polluting the wells. The greased cartridge fable does not appear to have been heard at Fatehgarh; but the leather rupee story was firmly believed. In March Major Weller of the Engineers, when inspecting at Fatehgarh, was questioned by a City banker as to the designs of the Government in breaking caste by issuing leather rupees, silvered over to represent the ordinary coinage. Major Weller offered to buy any such rupees for fourteen annas each, when his visitor said he actually possessed some of them, but none were produced. Isan Chandar Deb, the Head Clerk of the Gun Carriage Factory, testified afterwards that the sepoys of the 10th were annoyed at the annexation of Oudh, which they stigmatised as unjust; and they believed that Government wished to make them Christians. For crossing the sea to Burmah they were being taunted in the Army as the "Christian Regiment". There was, too, a widespread belief, in the regiment no less than in the bazar, that England was no bigger than Farrukhabad District, and that most of the English population were in India. The ignorant believed afterwards that by massacring the

English in Fatehgarh, a very sensible diminution, if not extirpation, of the English race would be effected.

In the countryside the Thakur zemindars were turbulent, and the old ruling class of the Pathans openly dissatisfied at taking a back place. In 1857, even recently, the Nawab of Farrukhabad, who enjoyed a pension from Government had been unsuccessfully agitating his utmost to secure the title of "Highness", and was discontented. The district had a large criminal population; and the jail was usually overcrowded with convicts numbering from 600 to a 1000 strong; while in the villages the cultivators, abundantly provided with matchlocks, swords and other arms, were at all times ready for plunder and dacoity.

All at the meeting were aware of the gravity of the situation; and it was decided at once to strengthen the guards at the Treasury and police stations out in the district. All soldiers on leave in the district were to report themselves for duty. A company of the 10th was to be sent to the jail; and while Colonel Smith said he had no apprehension as to the conduct of the regiment, there was a feeling among the other officers that some arrangement should be made in case of possible disloyalty. The two guns on the parade ground were to be taken to Colonel Smith's house, which was fixed as the Rallying Point for the residents in the event of an outbreak by the Regiment. The signal was to be the firing of the two guns.

Where the Officers' Mess of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment now stands, was a large rambling old house, called No. 5 in the Cantoment list. It had been in far away times the home of the indigo planter Churcher, and from him was purchased by Sir John Login on behalf of Maharajah Duleep Singh. Sir John Login resided there himself, and on his departure to England with the Maharajah in 1854, Colonel Smith had moved into it. It was a commodious house with a flat roof, and exactly resembled the house reconstructed after the Mutiny and finally demolished in 1925 to make way for the new Mess. Old residents will remember its lofty centre room divided by an arch, its walls painted sky blue, and numerous outhouses and stables. It was a bad choice for a refuge, and

could for no length of time have housed the two hundred men, women and children of the station; but when all is said and done the vicinity of the river made it a better rendezvous than General Wheeler's Entrenchment at Cawnpore. Colonel Smith's house, however, did not long meet with approval; and after some labour had been expended in fortifying it, the Rallying Point was shifted to the Fort. All residents were informed by a circular letter, the two guns being rashly returned to the parade ground. Colonel Smith counted at first on two hundred of his men remaining faithful. This number, added to that of the residents capable of bearing arms, was thought more than enough to provide for the defence of the dilapidated old fort, which was only used as a location for the factories of the Gun Carriage Agency, and had been crumbling into ruin during the fifty-three years which had elapsed since its last siege by the Mahrattas in the time of Lord Lake.

For a week up to the 21st May there seemed no cause for fear. The officers sounded their men and found nothing about which to be alarmed. The band played at the Diggi Tank as usual; and Mr. Fisher celebrated divine service in the old Church. Mr. Probyn was busy with the summary settlement of a village in pargana Khakhatmao across the river: and the bad state of the Tahsil buildings at Mohamedabad chiefly engaged the attention of his office. The station, languishing in the heat, was tranquil as far as outward appearances went. Both the Gun Carriage and Clothing Factories were hard at work. Boat loads of grain were descending the river; and Mr. Brierly, the biggest local trader, was daily expecting a shipment of wine and goods from Calcutta, his boats having reached Kanauj some days previously. Mr. Probyn himself was uneasy. He had informers, who rightly or wrongly professed to tell of plottings in the lines. The Telungas, they said, would not kill their own officers but that was all. They were not likely to spare anyone else.

On the 17th some bad news filtered over from Shahjahanpur, 45 miles away across the Ganges. A force of matchlockmen borrowed from a few landholders was led by Lieutenant Monckton, the Executive Engineer, across Ghatia Ghat; and officered in addition by a Lieutenant

Walcot, who was a chance visitor at Fatehgarh, Mr. Lowis the Joint Magistrate, and Mr. James the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, the little band took up position on the right bank of the Ramganga. Lieutenant Walcot belonged to the 47th N. I., Colonel Smith's old regiment, and must have been staying with his old commander for a few days only. His name does not occur again. For several days they heard and saw nothing alarming and so returned. Terrible news, however, arrived next day. Fatehgarh was in a ferment. The 9th N. I. had mutinied in Aligarh District. This altered the complexion of affairs, and even the officers of the 10th were uneasy. Mr. Probyn had now no doubt in his mind that the 10th would follow suit. The Collectorate officials began openly to express their fears in the bazar. Major Robertson opened his godowns in the Fort, both he and many others storing their valuables in their ample rooms. Captain Phillott sent his wife off to Allahabad on the 23rd by road ; and Mrs. Eckford set off the same day also by road, but was never heard of again. Her fate has never been discovered. The Briant family arrived from Bareilly, having left that place two days before the outbreak there, and were off again, their adventures being a long series of escapes, and their prudence remarkable. Mr. Briant was a merchant with business undertakings at Cawnpore and elsewhere, and scenting danger at Fatehgarh, hired a boat and betook himself and his family to Cawnpore, where he arrived thirty-six hours before the Mutiny. He persuaded his wife's family to quit that place at once. They reached Allahabad, and by a few minutes only caught the last steamer for Calcutta at the very moment that the 6th N. I. were bursting into revolt, and firing on their officers. After the establishment of peace Mr. Briant returned to Fatehgarh, and bought from a Mr. Collins the large house in the Civil Lines, in which the Opium Officer now resides. His case is probably unique.

Each day brought some separate cause for alarm. The 9th were said to be marching on Fatehgarh. It was reported that the adjoining district of Etah was falling into a state of complete anarchy ; and on the 26th Mr. Bramley, a Civilian who, like Lieutenant Walcot, appears to have been passing through Fatehgarh, volunteered to go there and was despatched this day with an escort of twelve mounted Policemen.

On the 29th a squadron of the 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry arrived at Gursahaiganj under the command of Captain Fletcher Hayes, Military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. Nine days before, Captain Hayes had been sent to Cawnpore to help General Wheeler with valuable reinforcements; but cavalry not being required at Cawnpore and all being quiet at that place, he obtained permission to proceed up the Grand Trunk Road to Aligarh by way of demonstration.

Two days previously Mr. Probyn had received an express letter from Lucknow by which he was informed that General Wheeler had been asked to let an armed force go to Fatehgarh to help. The Fatehgarh authorities replied directly to General Wheeler to the effect that no such force should pass Gursahaiganj, since the 10th was to be depended on. Possibly there was also an uneasy feeling in the minds of the chief officers that the 10th might not like any outsiders to reinforce Fatehgarh; and the after history of this squadron, at any rate, shows that their diversion from Fatehgarh was a merciful deliverance for the time being.

A copy of the letter was sent to Captain Hayes or taken by Mr. Lowis, the Joint Magistrate, who was sent to Gursahaiganj to arrange for supplies. Immediately on arrival, Captain Hayes rode into Fatehgarh, fifteen miles distant, with his advanced guard, and was advised by Colonel Smith and Mr. Probyn to march along the Grand Trunk Road into Etah District, where complete anarchy was reigning, and give up ideas of reaching Aligarh. Captain Hayes adopted these views. Orders were sent to Gursahaiganj for the force to proceed through Chhibramau to Bhongaon by forced marches. He himself set off at once, and passing the Central Jail reached Bewar in the afternoon by the old road, now called the Mainpuri road.

The story of this small cavalry force on detached duty is of great interest, not only for the lessons it affords, or by way of contrast with other similar expeditions, but because it has been overshadowed by a kind of mystery, which was never cleared up. The squadron was actually commanded by Lieutenant Barbor (20th N. I.) the Adjutant of the 2nd Oudh Cavalry. The deficiency of British officers had been made up by

two volunteers. Young Fayrer, who had been a cadet in the Australian Mounted Police, was the brother of Sir Joseph Fayrer, the Residency Surgeon. Visitors to the Lucknow Residency will be familiar with this name; for Fayrer's shot-riddled house is the first on the left hand after passing through the Bailey Guard Gate. Fayrer volunteered to do duty with the squadron, and left with it from Lucknow. Along the route a Captain Carey was picked up, whose real unit was the 17th N. I., then at Gorakhpur. It is hardly clear from the various accounts, in which direction Captain Carey was proceeding. By joining this force he was not precisely on the road towards joining his regiment; and it must be presumed he volunteered out of a love of adventure.

Barbor drove his men hard, and the next day, the 30th June, the squadron arrived at Bhongaon, thirty-seven miles distant from Gursahaiganj. On this date Captain Hayes rode into Mainpuri Civil Station from Bewar, since he wished to confer with Mr. Power, the local Magistrate, who himself was not without fame a year later in extinguishing the dying embers of the Fatehgarh rebellion. Captain Carey was with him, and how this came about the records give no indication at all. The Fatehgarh records, very explicit on the subject of Captain Hayes, make no allusion to Carey. That officer himself in a letter which he subsequently wrote, passes over the matter. He merely says they spent the night of the 31st with Mr. Power.

It was afterwards known that the cavalry arrived at Bhongaon in a state of mutiny. Lieutenant Barbor is said to have sent in a letter to Mainpuri on the subject, which was certainly never delivered. Captain Hayes, though he was only a little over eight miles from his detachment, did not worry about it on the 30th; but next morning he heard that the march to Kurauli had not been started. Instead of going himself or sending Captain Carey, he despatched a message to know the reason why, and waited for an answer in vain. Nearly the whole of the 31st was passed by Captain Hayes waiting for information of what was happening eight miles away from him. No explanation for this inaction is forthcoming, unless Captain Hayes was physically tired out by his long ride

from Fatehgarh in the blazing heat of May. Whatever the reason may be, the ultimate result was disastrous in the extreme, and led to a useless loss of life, which could have been avoided.

Late in the evening the Tahsildar of Bhongaon arrived in Mainpuri, and merely said the troopers were grumbling at the long marches. At the same time he gave such a pessimistic description of the state of despondency, into which the two British officers with the squadron had fallen, that Captain Hayes was on the point of setting out to see for himself, when some of the troopers arrived. They said they had halted at Bhongaon because they were tired. They were now, however, on their way to Sultanganj, the next camping ground, where they would halt that night. They also brought a letter from Lieutenant Barbor. About this Mr. Power, the Magistrate, writes, "This letter has always appeared a mystery to me. It appeared like the continuation of a letter previously despatched, and as if the writer were unable to express his meaning fully. He stated that the men were proceeding in an orderly manner to Sultanganj, and requested Captain Hayes not to join his force until the following morning, June 1st".

Mr. Power ordered the Tahsildar to go to Sultanganj, only nine miles away, and ascertain the truth. Three hours later this official returned reporting that all was well; but later it transpired that he never went at all. If he had done so, it would have been discovered that the two unfortunate officers were under surveillance, and that the troopers sent to Mainpuri were merely to ensure that Captain Hayes and his companion did not start before they were wanted.

Early on the 1st June Captains Hayes and Carey left Mainpuri. After riding some eight miles they drew near to Kurauli, where they saw the squadron drawn up in a line on the plain. What followed is described by Captain Carey, who alone of the four lived to tell the tale. An Indian officer met them on the plain just in time with the terrible news that the squadron had mutinied, and was only waiting to murder them. Without hesitation they turned and rode back towards Mainpuri for their lives. The troopers spread over the plain in pursuit. "Away we went," writes

Carey, with two troops after us like demons, yelling and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us. Thank God, neither I nor my horse was hit. Hayes was riding on the side next the troopers, and before we had gone many yards I saw a native officer ride up alongside of him, and cut him down from the saddle. It was the work of an instant, and took much less time than I have to relate it. On they all came, and every now and then "ping" came a bullet near me. Indeed, I thought my moments were numbered, but as I neared the road near the end of the plain, a ditch presented itself. It was but a moment, I thought—dug my spurs hard in, and the mare flew over it, though she nearly fell on the other side; fortunately I recovered her, and in another moment I was leaving all behind but two sowars, who followed me, and poor Hayes' horse tearing along after me." After a chase of two miles the troopers gave up; and Carey continued to ride at a good pace, until his horse foundered from exhaustion at the sixth mile. Meeting a trooper on the road, he mounted behind and forced him to return to Mainpuri. A mile from the station they overtook Captain Hayes' Arab; and Carey springing on to his back, got safely into the station.

A faithful Indian officer made his way back to Lucknow and reported. On the morning of the 1st June, according to his account, the squadron paraded at Kurauli. The heat was already overpowering even at an early hour, and young Fayrer, before mounting, stooped down to take some water from a water-carrier's skin. A trooper rode up, and cut him through the back of his neck with a tulwar, killing him on the spot. Lieutenant Barbor galloped off along the road, but fell cut to pieces trying to charge through the advanced guard, which barred his way. He shot two sowars with his revolver, and ran another through before he fell.

The three bodies were brought into Mainpuri by Lachhman Singh, the zamindar of Kurauli, and were buried by Mr. Power in St. Paul's Churchyard at Mainpuri. Thus by a slash across the face ended the career of a brilliant soldier, who, an Oxford graduate and an accomplished oriental scholar, had won fame in helping Sleeman to suppress the Thugs, and as A. D. C. to Sir Hugh Gough had ridden through the

cannonade of Maharajpore. It was a sorry ending for a life of great promise; and but for his wretched mount Captain Hayes would have escaped like his companion. In a short fortnight the adventure of this ill-fated party came to an untimely conclusion with the loss of three valuable lives, and all for nothing: "*Sunt lacrimae rerum*". One lesson at least is to be learned. Lord Roberts was wont to use this incident to stress the desirability of every officer being a proficient horseman.

On the very date of Captain Hayes' arrival at Gursahaiganj a moveable column, which was destined to disintegrate in a tragedy and disaster no less moving than his, was peaceably marching on Fatehgarh from the direction of Sitapur. It was remarkable that at this date the authorities of surrounding districts thought constantly of sending help to Fatehgarh; while Colonel Smith and Mr. Probyn had busily to try and check them. Mr. Christian, the Commissioner of an extinct division in Oudh, then called Khyrabad and roughly corresponding to Sitapur, Kheri and Hardoi districts, was responsible for the scheme. Two companies of the 48th N. I., whose loyal remnants, united with those of the 13th and 71st made up the garrison of the Bailey Guard of fame during the siege of the Lucknow Residency, formed the infantry of the column. To the modern residents of Fatehgarh more than ordinary interest will attach to this coincidence; for the 48th were marching to help a Cantonment in which their representatives to-day are permanently stationed in the being of the 10/7th Rajput Regiment. In the Mess of this regiment are the tattered Queen's and Regimental Colours of the old 13th which, rescued after seventy-three years of oblivion from a private residence in Cawnpore, have miraculously survived to find a resting place with the regiment descended from it.

Captain Burmester and Lieutenant Farquharson were with the 48th. Captain Staples, Lieutenants Boulton and Martin, led two troops of the 7th Bengal Cavalry, which completed the column. Major Marriott, the pension paymaster of Oudh, wanted to go to Fatehgarh on business. The column was placed under his command. Two political officers named Lieutenants Hutchinson and Tulloch with a small escort of twenty Sikhs of the 1st. Oudh Cavalry were tacked on the column at the last moment

for reasons which are somewhat obscure. At the moment of starting no very definite orders had been given. The reason for sending the column was nebulous; and there is room for suspicion that the authorities wanted to place these troops where they could do no damage. As events later showed, no more futile expedition was ever conceived; and the officers were practically marching to their death. However gallant and intrepid he might be, Major Marriott, too, was past the age for adventures, and he had been six years away from active regimental duty. He was unable in the end to exercise any authority over the junior officers who were apparently "sepoy worshipers" of the most advanced kind. He was bound, too, by an order that he was not to direct the movements of the column at all. Lieutenant Hutchinson was to decide the direction of the march. The stupidity of this is apparent. Major Marriott only joined the force because he wanted to go to Fatehgarh; and his view as to the objective of the column might very well clash with those of the Political Officer. The Deputy Commissioner of Mallawan was not consulted at all, and it was within his territory that the column was going to demonstrate.

The daily marches averaged ten miles, and in somewhat leisurely fashion the little column passed down the straight road from Sitapur, which cuts across the Mallawan or Hardoi district, and is the highway to the Ganges for pilgrims and travellers to the Doab. At the end, ten miles from the ferry over the Ganges at Mehndi Ghat, the long ruinous village of Mallawan sprawls along the road. It was then the capital of the district, probably because the Ganges was near at hand, and its pre-eminence was suitably marked by symbols of the Government in the shape of a mud jail, a mud Court House and Treasury, and a hovel of two rooms for the residence of Mr. Capper, the Magistrate.

On the 2nd June the moveable column was abreast of this dismal place; and the attraction of the Treasury was too much for the murmuring sepoys. They objected violently to going on to the Ganges, and numbers of men kept falling out and lagging behind. It was evident to the meanest intelligence that mutiny was in the air, and moreover all were now aware that there had been an outbreak in Lucknow Cantonment.

By great exertions the officers drove the main body on to a camping place on the banks of the Ganges on the Oudh side, which Lieutenant Hutchinson had selected. There was no intention so far of crossing into Farrukhabad District.

Hutchinson and Tulloch went into Mallawan to get supplies for the camp and to see Mr. Capper. It was therefore with no little astonishment that on reaching the rendezvous on the Ganges bank, they perceived the camp on the further bank in disobedience of orders. Hutchinson found his Sikh troopers waiting for him. They pointed out that the column was ripe for mutiny and had insisted on crossing into Farrukhabad. It was their opinion that the officers would be murdered. Hutchinson did the only thing he could. He sent a letter over the river to the officers asking them to come back to Lucknow with him. Major Marriott and Assistant Surgeon Darby were the only ones to do so. The rest, refusing to distrust their men, went blindly and obstinately to their doom, news of which was brought to Lucknow by their servants a long time after.

The camp was four miles south of Kanauj and a couple of miles from the Grand Trunk Road, on to which they moved, and on the 7th June reached Chaubepur in the direction of Cawnpore. Here the column broke into revolt at the morning parade. Burmester, Martin and Farquharson were shot down on the spot. Staples was wounded. Boulton mounting his horse in time, gallantly picked the wounded man up, and placed him behind. A volley from the mutineers made his efforts useless. Staples fell dead from the horse. Boulton, his cheek pierced by a ball, was chased sixteen miles to Cawnpore only to find General Wheeler besieged in his entrenchment. He spent the night wandering about in search of it; and in some unexplained manner passed between the Nana's batteries. At daybreak the low mud rampart, which surrounded the besieged, came in sight. Boulton rode for the wall like a Paladin, and cleared it at a leap in the face of the defenders' fire. He joined Captain Jenkins' picket, and though much a sufferer from his wound served throughout the siege, only to die ingloriously in the boats.

Of the others the story is soon told. Hutchinson, Tulloch, and Marriott joined the Residency garrison and survived. Doctor Darby was

killed in the Residency; and a few additional details, sad though they are, are necessary to complete his tale. He had been called to Lucknow just before the Mutiny to act as Surgeon to the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, a corps with which the history of the Mutiny at Fatehgarh is closely connected. He left his wife at Cawnpore; and she had the unique experience of giving birth to a child within the entrenchment. Both she and her infant perished in the boats.

At Fatehgarh the 10th N. I. were much agitated by Captain Hayes' arrival, and they were convinced that their arms were to be taken away. There was great excitement in the lines. The Adjutant proceeded straight to Mr. Probyn in much distress saying it was enough to make the regiment mutiny. It was evening time, hot and stifling beneath a cloud covered sky. Mr. Probyn rushed to the lines with Henderson, and found the men standing about and talking excitedly. They were pacified for a time, but that night the lines were again in a tumult, and the sepoys fell in with their arms. Colonel Smith after strenuous exertions induced them to return to their huts; and so closed an eventful and harassing day.

The next day was a quiet one. Rain had fallen in a good shower and relieved the sultriness of the weather upon which too much emphasis cannot be laid; for the trials, which the chief officers of the station had to bear, were immensely aggravated by the season.

At this time of the hot weather mental worry, added to the discomfort which is created by bodily exertion during intense heat, must have told heavily on the nerves of the leaders; and it cannot be forgotten that the responsibility of providing for the safety of over a hundred women and children was sufficient to lead to complete exhaustion. Without considering the lack of what are now the most ordinary comforts of any house in India, it is difficult for modern day students of the Mutiny period to appreciate the decisions made and action taken in small stations like Fatehgarh, where metalled roads were few and far between; ice and soda water were scanty and expensive; telegraphs and railway lines not yet constructed; houses badly built of mud and thatch with little furniture, and that only of early Victorian fashion, hard and comfortless; illumination

at night of the feeblest kind, and transport only in light dog-carts or cumbersome four wheeled carriages.

It was this shower of rain, which led to a momentous decision being taken; for the river, wide and shallow in May, rose slightly and suggested a means of leaving Fatehgarh to those who foresaw from their reading of daily events the promise of worse to come. On the 1st June everyone knew that the 28th N. I. had murdered and looted in Shahjahanpur. Escaped convicts made their appearance across the river; and the villagers of pargana Amritpur rose in revolt. Mr. Probyn directed the bridge of boats to be severed, and the Joint Magistrate was ordered in from Gursahaiganj. He arrived in the night, and it was well that he did so; for a mutinous force of Oudh troops crossed the Ganges at Meora Ghat on the 2nd, reached Gursahaiganj next day and burning the Dak Bungalow and Police Station went on to plunder the tahsil at Chhibramau. Their advanced guard marched coolly into Fatehgarh and were royally entertained by the 10th without any one being able to stop them. Colonel Smith was still convinced that the bulk of his men would stand by the Colours; but fraternising with the rebels was stopped, and a barricade thrown up, blocking the Cawnpore road near the present District Jail.

The temper of the regiment was not good; and signs were not wanting that discipline was slackening, and it was being found necessary to humour the men rather than defy them. On the 28th May Mr. Probyn had attempted to transfer the Government treasure, two and three quarter lakhs of rupees in amount, to the Fort from the arcaded building, which still stands by Surgeon Hamilton's tomb in the Collectorate compound, but Subadar Misr Shankar and a body of men from the regiment forbade it, and the treasure was left where it was. On the 2nd June the sepoys of the 10th themselves caught a rebel spy with a seditious letter in Hindi, and took him to the District Magistrate, who, for some reason unrecorded, had him chained to a tree. The sepoys were greatly annoyed and forced Colonel Smith to ask for the spy to be sent to Mainpuri for trial, since he had come from that district.

These happenings were known to all the residents at Fatehgarh; and the officers of the 10th were now alone in their confidence that the bulk

of the regiment was staunch. The records of the American Mission give some slight indication of the anxiety in every home. It is certain that meetings took place, and correspondence between bungalow and bungalow, in which the latest rumours and news were feverishly canvassed. The official records coldly ignore the distracted counsels of the humbler non-official residents, who had only the wild stories of their servants to rely on, in order to decide their line of action. Nothing is more heart-breaking than to note the absence of any strong guiding hand in Fatehgarh at this most delicate time; and much of the disaster to come was due to allowing a policy of *sauve qui peut*, each bungalow owner making his own arrangement to get himself and his family away. Mr. Gavin Jones, one of the survivors, has graphically depicted, in the account of his adventures, the utter confusion which existed among the non-official residents and subordinates, both Civil and Military. These persons, as he says, naturally looked up to the higher officers in authority for guidance, which was not forthcoming, and for decisions which as soon as they were made by the Military were contested by the Civil or *vice versa*. The roads leading to Agra, then the seat of Government and residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, were closed by rebellion in the intervening districts. Most villages were up in revolt, their inhabitants raiding each other to pay off old scores. The nights were made hideous by the continuous fusillade in the Fatehgarh bazar, where bad characters kept discharging their matchlocks to mark the passing of Government. Mr. Gavin Jones' account agrees in detail with the evidence of the inhabitants, all of whom show that at this juncture there was no controlling hand and a complete absence of any internal security scheme.

The letters of the American Missionaries, written at the end of May, which have luckily survived, are of absorbing human interest in showing what the Brierlys and Ives and other merchants of the Circular Road were planning; what the Macleans, Joneses and Churchers, indigo planters, were preparing, and all that the thick population of Anglo-Indian clerks and pensioners, whose small bungalows crowded the space between Machhlitola and the Strand Road, were probably thinking. The last remained in their houses unquiet and apathetic; too stunned to

appreciate the turmoil, which had arisen almost without warning. They could not uproot themselves from the only home they knew; and they died on the parade ground unprotesting and bewildered.

The Mission of the American Presbyterian Church was established in two peaceful and thriving settlements some miles apart. At Barhpur, half way to Farrukhabad City from the Cantonment, two thatched bungalows and a small Church on the south side of the highway formed the headquarters of two Missionaries, the Revd. A. O. Johnson in charge of the High School in the City, and the Revd. D. E. Campbell in charge of Mission work at Fatehgarh itself. At Rakha on the Mainpuri road the Revd. J. E. Freeman superintended the well-known Orphanage and tent manufactory; while behind the Church and bungalows was situated a Christian village, the care of which and other village work lay in the hands of the Revd. R. McMullin.

The Christian converts faithfully conveyed news of every rumour and happening. Though loath to quit the scene of so many years of fruitful labour, the Barhpur Missionaries were forced by the insistence of their workers to move to the Rakha Settlement, since Barhpur was necessarily exposed to any sudden attack by bad characters from the City; and as after events showed, the inhabitants of the hamlets and villages around were impatiently waiting for a chance to plunder the Mission. At Rakha the atmosphere was calmer; and it is evident that at first all looked forward to going into the Fort in obedience to the circular letter, which had been sent round in the middle of May. No further instructions, however, had been received, and there was evidence that those instructions were already a dead letter. It is easy to imagine the feeling of helplessness and uncertainty, which filled the minds of every householder in Fatehgarh, distracted at the danger menacing his family and not knowing how to ward it off.

In the last week of May the scheme fixing the Fort as a rallying point had somehow been shelved. The Official Narrative is unfortunately reticent on the point. It is fair to assume, then, that the higher officials were in disagreement, and later on events happened to show that this must have taken place. All that can be gathered is that the bulk of the

residents disapproved of the Fort, which had not been put into a state of defence; and the general intention was to make for Allahabad by river. Mr. Probyn, Mr. Brierly and others set about obtaining boats at the end of the month. The aid of Hardeo Baksh Singh, a landholder 12 miles away in Hardoi District, was obtained, and his men were to escort the boats down the river. The new arrangements, or want of them, did not allow of any provision for saving the poorer residents. Hence it was that many could not get away and stayed in their houses. Others could not obtain boats for love or money and had to be crowded into the larger vessels at the last minute. By the 1st June most people had become thoroughly alarmed, and to avoid the burning winds spent the day only in their houses, retiring for the night to sleep on the dozen boats moored at the Fort and Hospital Ghats. The furnace-like heat of the day and closeness of the nights could only have added to the intense discomforts undergone by those unfortunate families. In the entire absence of all information it is idle to adjudge the responsibility for this confusion, which in the end led to the nearly complete annihilation of the population of the station. Mr. Brierly, the leading merchant and auctioneer, and the indigo planter Maclean appear to have been the guiding spirits; and they were the first to prepare for a flight by river.

During the last days of May Mrs. Campbell, whose little son was safely in the hills, wrote to a friend at Mainpuri that all the Missionaries were in Mr. Freeman's house at Rakha, making up clothes and collecting garments for the boat journey. There were sad hearts among them, and the men at least realised they were leaving perhaps for ever. On the 2nd June farewell messages were sent. Mr. McMullin wrote calmly of the danger now so imminent. On the same date, conscious of some foreboding, Mr. Johnson penned his last message to relations in America. "Bad news," he wrote, "all is getting worse. The insurgents have arisen all around us, and we are trying to get a boat in which to escape." He ended his letter with a farewell. "Perhaps you may never hear from me again."

That same day, the 2nd June, Mr. Maclean and his partner Guise offered them accommodation on their boat, which lay off Hospital Ghat.

In the evening the missionaries left Rakha, and traversing the Cantonment proceeded to the houses of their friends. Mr. Guise had been tutor to Maharajah Duleep Singh, before he joined the indigo manufacturing concern of Maclean & Co., as a partner; and the Maharajah had allowed him to continue living on the estate. The foundations of his house can still be traced on the edge of the nullah, not far from the entrance to No. 2 bungalow. From here it is but a short walk along a narrow path to Hospital Ghat. Mr. Maclean also lived close to the boat-landing, very probably in No. 2 bungalow itself, since this is the only other house which fits the description, and there were no others at the time near to this ghat.

Towards evening on the 3rd June news, based on a false rumour, was circulated that the rebel cavalry from Gursahaiganj were approaching along the Cawnpore road. A few sowars, as has been mentioned, did ride in and proceed to the lines; and their appearance was sufficient to create a panic. It was certain to everyone that the cavalry would arrive, if they had not already done so, and in a few hours the 10th would rise. It is a sad reflection on the condition of unreadiness in which the authorities now found themselves, to find Mr. Probyn remarking in his report that at this late hour "it became necessary to determine, speedily and definitely, what course should be adopted." There was at least no hesitation on the part of most residents. They, Missionaries and all, carrying their children and valuables, walked down at nightfall to Hospital Ghat, where the boats were anchored, and there set about embarking. Mr. Probyn himself went down to see his family off.

Colonel Smith and the officers remained aloof. From their point of view the situation was by no means out of control in Fatehgarh itself, though they were either unaware of the state of the district at large, or were ignoring it. They coolly stayed at their posts. This was as it should be; but for the officers and their families to carry on their daily life as usual, without making the slightest provision for a keep, or place of refuge for their reception in an emergency, is not only a course hard to believe, but an example of perverse obstinacy almost amounting to mania. It is only possible to see in this the personal influence and will of Colonel Smith.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST BOAT JOURNEY.

(SEE MAP II).

WHEN not one of those who reached Cawnpore survived to tell the tale, it might well be asked upon what authority the narration of this story rests. For a portion of the journey the reports of Mr. Probyn and the other two survivors, Messrs. Gavin Jones and Churcher, give a sufficiently clear account. From the time the fugitives split into two parties, the description of the events which befell Mr. Brierly and his companions up to their capture at Cawnpore, rests upon the depositions of the boatmen and domestic servants, made after the Mutiny either at Fatehgarh or Cawnpore. Some of this evidence is in great detail, and that of an educated Christian convert is particularly of interest. One faithful ayah indeed, who could not be parted from her charge, remained until the last, and upon her sole testimony depends our knowledge of the final tragedy.

The thirteen boats, which made up the little fleet, were anchored at the Fort landing place, and at the narrow Hospital Ghat some hundred yards to the south. These boats were flat bottomed river boats, used chiefly for the transport of grain and merchandise, such as may be seen to-day in the boat bridge at Ghatia Ghat or on the Ramganga. They were of varying sizes, nearly all with deck cabins of rough planks covered by a thatch, and by far the largest was that of Mr. Brierly, the merchant. Ten of the boats carried the fugitives; while the remaining three were filled with luggage, provisions and the majority of the servants. Hardeo Baksh Singh and fifty picked men composed the guards, and they had a eparate boat for themselves.

By 10 p.m. on this stifling night of the 3rd June the company embarked in the following order.

BOAT No. 1.—Mr. Probyn, Mrs. Probyn and four children: Mr. Thornhill, Mrs. Thornhill and two children: Mr. Jones, Planter, Mrs. Jones and child: Mr. Gavin Jones, Engineer.

BOAT No. 2.—Mr. Lowis, Mrs. Lowis and three children: Miss Nancy Lang, Nurse.

BOAT No. 3.—Colonel Tucker, Mrs. Tucker and four children: Humphreys, man servant: Mr. Ahern and Mrs. Ahern: Revd. Mr. Fisher, Mrs. Fisher and one child.

BOAT No. 4.—Mr. T. Churcher and Mr. D. Churcher, Planters: Mr. James, Opium Officer: Doctor and Mrs. Maltby.

BOAT No. 5.—Sergeant Roach, road overseer, Mrs. Roach and two children: Mr. Boscow, pensioner, Mrs. Boscow and two children.

BOAT No. 6.—Mrs. Sturt and Miss Sturt.

BOAT No. 7.—Mr. Shiels, school master, Mrs. Shiels and two children.

BOAT No. 8.—Mr. and Mrs. Ives: Miss Ives.

BOAT No. 9.—Mr. J. Brierly, Mrs. Brierly and two children: Misses E. and F. Brierly: Mr. R. Brierly, Mrs. R. Brierly and one child: Mr. Cawood, Mrs. Cawood and two children: Mr. Macklin, Mrs. Macklin and eight children: Mr. Joyce: Mr. Macdonald and two children: Mr. Faulkner and two children: Mrs. Jennings and five children: Mrs. Kew and three children: Miss Kew: Mr. and Mrs. Catania: Mr. Madden, Mrs. Madden and three children: two Misses Madden: Sergeant and Mrs. Hammond: Mr. Lows, Mrs. Lows and two children: Mrs. E. Shepherd and three children: Miss Mary Shepherd: Misses R. and E. Ray: Mr. Finlay: Miss Finlay: Mr. Alexander: Mr. Bellington.

BOAT No. 10.—Mr. Maclean: two Misses Maclean: Mr. Elliott, Mrs. Elliott and five children: Mr. and Mrs. Guise: Lieut. Monckton, Mrs. Monckton and one child: Rev. J. E. and

Mrs. Freeman: Rev. D. E. Campbell, Mrs. Campbell and two children: Rev. A. O. and Mrs. Johnson: Rev. R. and Mrs. McMullin: Mr. Palmer, Mrs. Palmer and nine children.

In the remaining three boats were ten or fifteen servants, five of whom followed Mrs. Jennings alone. Accompanying the masters, however, were a number of sweepers and ayahs, and in Mr. Maclean's boat several converts of the Mission continued with the Missionaries. One hundred and fifty-seven souls made up the little band of fugitives, the official estimate of more than one hundred being vague and misleading. Thirty-five adults and twenty-seven children, chiefly making up the officers and their families, were left behind, Colonel Smith of course not having countenanced this flight from Fatehgarh.

It was nearly ten o'clock when all was ready for the start. Mr. Probyn came down to the ghat to see them off. Colonel Tucker, Thornhill, Lowis and Mr. Fisher, the Chaplain, then came forward saying they were all Government servants and would not consent to leave without him. Mr. Probyn had arranged to remain on, and if it came to the worst cross the Ganges in a dinghy, and take refuge in Hardeo Baksh Singh's mud fort, twelve miles distant. When after considerable argument it was apparent they would not go without him, Mr. Probyn retraced his way up the steep path of the Hospital Ghat (now provided with a flight of steps) and walked across the Park to Colonel Smith's house in order to inform him. The Colonel was out. There was no time to lose, and a note was left for him. Mr. Probyn rejoined the boats, the flotilla moving off in single file at 1 a.m. on the 4th June.

In 1857 the deep stream of the Ganges flowed directly beneath the high banks on which the bungalows of Fatehgarh are built. The Ganges has shifted since then towards the east, and has now made its deep stream where before there was only a narrow channel. The boats, then, moving rapidly with the current, soon left Fatehgarh behind, and by daybreak on the 4th anchored at Dahlia village on the Oudh shore, some twelve miles down the river. The servants got out and prepared breakfast.

Hardeo Baksh Singh, leaving a strong guard, went off to his place at Dharampur.

No little excitement was caused some hours later by the arrival of a large boat with four officers of the 10th in it. They brought bad news, and feared no one in Fatehgarh was left alive. At the morning parade, they said, the sepoys had commenced firing, when the treasure was being moved to the Fort. One man had stepped out of the ranks, and showered abuse on the Colonel; while another, taking deliberate aim at him, had only been stopped from pressing the trigger by a Native Officer. The Colonel galloped off to the Fort, a number of sepoys following him, after having loaded their muskets. The parade ground was covered by groups of men filled with wild excitement. Five officers were cut off from the Fort. Captains Phillimore and Bignell, Lieutenant Fitzgerald and Ensigns Eckford and Byrne then made for the river bank, aided by a Sikh havildar and a few faithful Sikhs, in order to reach the Fort by water. Captain Phillimore had a small boat of his own and did eventually reach the Fort. The other four could only find a boat too large for them to manage against the current. Turning the boat's head round, they were able to proceed rapidly and catch up the flotilla by 10 a.m. They were distributed among the boats, Ensign Byrne going to Mr. Maclean's and the others to Mr. Churcher's vessel.

The hot wind was now furnace-like in its blasts, and for all alike the boats, scorched by the nearly vertical rays of the sun, must have been a purgatory, while the reflection from the water and burning wind were added miseries. It was impossible to proceed until the force of the sun had abated; and the sandy shore offering no inducement, the fugitives had to crouch beneath the decks or in the little cabins amidships to protect their eyes, sore with dust and glare. The day wore on, and when night had fallen the boats were unmoored and a fresh start made.

By midnight the high cliffs of Kusamkhor, distant twenty-six miles from Fatehgarh, began to loom up. The river here divided itself into many channels and was shallow in depth. Keeping to the main stream in order to make full use of the current, the boats were steered close beneath

the cliffs; but the passage was not to be made with that ease which had hitherto characterised the journey, and all now had a foretaste of the trials to come.

The inhabitants of Kusamkhor village were Raikwar Rajputs converted to Islam, and had already earned an unenviable notoriety for lawlessness. Only recently they had looted three adjoining villages, murdered their own village accountant and his son, and plundered four boats laden with saltpetre, which were lying moored to the shore beneath the village. During the long wait at Dahlia, news of the coming of the fugitives had quickly reached Kusamkhor, and the high banks overlooking the river were crowded with armed villagers, excited by the hope of more booty. A hail of bullets greeted the boats as they appeared, the villagers plying their matchlocks and jingals or blunderbusses moving on pivots, with all the more zeal when the largest boat, which happened to be that of Mr. Brierly, grounded on a sand bank. The passengers without a moment's delay jumped into the water and put their shoulders to the boat. Hardeo Baksh Singh's guard coming up at the rear in their boat, stopped to give help; and after the most strenuous exertions the boat was launched into deep water. The firing never stopped, and only the darkness of night prevented severe casualties. As it was "Dick Sahib" (Mr. R. Brierly) was hit in the side, and a young son of Mr. Lows, the Head Blacksmith of the Gun Carriage Agency, had his thigh cut by a matchlock ball. The other boats were joined two miles down stream. For this and other acts of violence Kusamkhor was heavily punished after the re-occupation of the district. Twenty-eight of the villagers were transported for life to the Andamans and the village confiscated.

At 9 a.m. on the 5th when the sun was mounting high and the intense heat was again at hand, the flotilla anchored at Meora Ghat. Here there was a strange meeting with a boat of Mr. Brierly's coming up stream from Calcutta with a cargo of wine. Mr. Brierly hailed the boat, and Kashi, the agent in charge, was ordered to accompany him to Cawnpore. No long stay was made. After the fearful experiences of

the night haste was made to get on in spite of the heat, and Mr. Brierly's cargo of wine was left behind. The Ramganga here flows into the Ganges, and the fleet had moved on two miles, slowly avoiding the sandbanks and passing near by the shore, when the crews were thrown into consternation by the news that a body of mutinous cavalry was in front. There was basis for the rumour, since the day before a force of Irregular Cavalry from Oudh had crossed the river and plundered the Kanauj Tahsil. The boats were stopped at once. A servant was landed on the bank and sent ahead to reconnoitre. Though he reported the river was clear, doubts began to assail the chief officers as to the advisability of going on. Hardeo Baksh Singh's headman took part in the discussion, and urged as many as possible to go to his master's fort at Dharampur, which lay on the Ramganga river behind them.

No description of this scene has been made; but it would not be difficult to picture the clumsy boats heavy laden with baggage and their human freight, clustered by the bank. In their roughly thatched cabins the ladies trying to shield their children from the overpowering heat, all packed together with only the deck to sit upon; the men, unkempt after two days continual effort in pushing on their heavy craft, boatmen being few in number, gathered at Mr. Probyn's boat to take eager part in the discussion, which was to mean so much. It was known that the heavy boats could not get up the Ramganga, and moreover there was not accommodation for all in the Dharampur Fort. It was argued too, says Mr. Probyn, that there was a better chance of some escaping if the party was to divide. Colonel Tucker took a forward part in the meeting, and the Indian witnessess say many refused to go to Dharampur; all Colonel Tucker's insistence could not convince them. It is almost as if the first decision was for all to keep together and ascend the Ramganga. Be that as it may, the reasons will never be known: but the two parties reorganised themselves, never to meet again; and with the exception of one lady, the Probyns and two out of their four children, Messrs. Gavin Jones and Churcher, and four or five servants, not one was alive six weeks later.

The Dharampur party moved off first in the fading light in order to return two miles to the place where the Ramganga or Ghamiri, as it is known locally, flows into the Ganges. The shallows of this stream could only admit of the progress of light draught boats; and the evidence is confusing as to how many boats transported Mr. Probyn's party of twenty-eight, with nineteen children, to Amrauli Jaithpur, the place for which they were making, until the Dharampur Fort, a few miles distant, should be ready for their reception. According to the servants who survived, one boat contained them all. Six boats, it is known, went on to Cawnpore; and if the servants are correct, six boats must have been abandoned at this spot.

There was a long delay, and the task of fitting out the six boats, which were to go on, was not finished for twenty-four hours. Several boats were overladen with luggage, and much property had to be jettisoned. The crews had to be redistributed, and there can be no doubt that the scorching sun was causing too much exhaustion to allow of the voyage being continued at once. Mr. Brierly possessed a large and a small boat. Mr. Shiels, the schoolmaster, managed another heavy boat of some size; and the other three were lighter ones belonging to Mr. Ives and Mr. Maclean. One was only filled with luggage and provisions, and its passengers were the bulk of the domestic servants.

During the long hot day of the 6th, while the little fleet lay to off the shore, one lady was filled with misgivings. There then occurred one of those curious designs of fate, which at the time seemed desperate enough, but ultimately led to salvation. Mrs. Sturt and her grown up daughter had occupied one small boat together with their luggage and servants from the start of the journey to this point. Miss Sturt elected to return to Dharampur with Mr. Probyn, and her mother chose the opposite course. During the 6th, however, Mrs. Sturt changed her mind, and leaving her boat, hastened away on foot to rejoin her daughter. In order to appreciate fully the extent of this courageous feat it should be remembered that Mrs. Sturt was forty-nine years old and must have walked not less than eight miles along the sandy bank in tropical heat. Amrauli too was on the further bank and it was necessary for her to cross the river.

There are few incidents in the story of Fatehgarh which are more heroic than this one, and unfortunately the records do not go beyond a bare mention of it. No details of this perilous walk have been given; but not only did she succeed in reaching Amrauli before the 8th, to be picked up by Mr. Probyn's party, but more than a month later her amazing good fortune did not desert her. She refused to accompany her daughter to the Fort and was saved in a manner bordering on the miraculous. Mrs. Sturt, as will be seen later, was one of the few survivors from Fatehgarh.

Mr. J. Brierly was now the leader of the little fleet, which confidently prepared early on the afternoon of the 6th to continue the journey down stream. The servants, who survived, have by their statements left no room for doubt about this; and to the non-official residents of Fatehgarh the Brierly family had long been one which commanded respect by reason of long residence and commercial standing. J. and R. Brierly were brothers, the latter being junior and always called "Dick Sahib." They had been over twenty-five years in Fatehgarh, and resided with their families in the house behind the present Civil Hospital, which still exists. Originally auctioneers, the two brothers opened a shop and commenced manufacturing tents. They supplied the wants of the station, dealing in what was then known as "Europe" goods; and were concerned in a good many commercial ventures at Fatehgarh. Mr. Brierly's boat was by far the most commodious, and most of the passengers eventually transferred to it. At the moment of starting, however, Mr. Brierly's boat led the way, having on board sixty-seven persons of whom nearly half were children. Then followed Mr. Maclean's boat with thirty-six including seventeen children. Nine of these children belonged to Mrs. Palmer, and they were looked after by Hingun, their ayah, who never left them until the very end. In Mr. Shiels' boat were his wife and two children. Similarly, in the fourth boat were only Mr. and Mrs. Ives and their grown up daughter. The fifth boat was a small one of Mr. Brierly's, which had domestic servants in it, the sixth boat being devoted to carrying the provisions and valuables. Altogether there were one hundred and ten persons comprising twenty-five men, thirty-three ladies and fifty-two children.

They had not proceeded a mile before disaster threatened the fugitives. Their long halt on the 5th and 6th had allowed the nearest villagers to become aware of their presence. The river at this point, a little north of the town of Kanauj, was wide and flowed round a long island called Beloi, inhabited by river thieves and dacoits of the worst reputation. The boats arrived off Beloi at four in the afternoon, hardly able to move through the shallow water. In a very short time a large crowd of several hundred villagers dashing into the water surrounded them, and kept up a terrifying uproar, though they did not actually threaten any violence, or attempt to board the boats. Mr. Brierly had the boats moored to the shore close together. Mr. Shiels and his family moved over to Mr. Brierly's boat, and the Ives family followed suit. The fugitives crouching in their boats, passed the night in anguish. Sleep was out of the question; for the villagers kept up a deafening fusillade all night, firing their matchlocks in the air beating their drums and seeking to intimidate them. The long wished for daylight had no sooner appeared than Mr. Brierly sent his servant Basant to find out the intentions of their assailants. Two Thakurs, named Gangu Singh and Chittar, zamindars of Mahdewa village, appeared to be the leaders, Rs. 2,000 were demanded, and for this ransom they promised to escort the boats to Cawnpore. Mr. Brierly stepped ashore, having collected half that sum from his party and handed it over to Gangu Singh. The remainder was promised on safe arrival at Cawnpore. The villagers then dispersed, two men being left to escort the boats, but they, needless to say, deserted a few hours later. Before leaving, however, Gangu Singh and his men yielded to temptation and plundered Mr. Shiels' boat, which seems to have been behind the others and fast aground upon the shore. In doing so they caused such damage to the timbers that the boat was rendered useless. Very early in the morning of the 8th the boats moved slowly away from Beloi. Most of the passengers now were with Mr. Brierly. Mr. Ives preferring to remain on that boat, there was no useful purpose in taking on his own, and it had accordingly been abandoned. The little fleet had dwindled to four boats. The first was Mr. Brierly's large one, carrying the bulk of the passengers. Mr. Maclean followed with the Missionaries, his son-in-law Mr. Elliott, Mr. Guise and

Lieut. Monckton. The ladies and children had been sent to Mr. Brierly's boat for better protection, and Mr. Maclean now only had the men with him. Mr. Brierly's small boat had two or three of the men in it, but their names are not known. The fourth boat contained the servants, provisions and necessaries for the party.

When the district was reoccupied the conduct of the Mahdewa and Beloi villages was made the subject of a trial. The villages were abandoned, being probably only collections of grass huts in any case, and the majority of the inhabitants disappeared, not before having suffered severe casualties in an attack on Kanauj town, which they had mistakenly thought was easy plunder. Gangu Singh and his co-adjutor Chittar were so thoroughly hated for their exactions, that there proved no difficulty in catching them. Gangu received twenty-one years transportation and Chittar fourteen years. Most of their followers had been shot by the townsmen of Kanauj, and Beloi then disappeared as a village from the map. A search of the deserted village brought to light a few of the articles plundered from Mr. Shiels' boat, a list of which gives a rather curious picture of some of the things considered necessary by the fugitives—four yards of black broadcloth; twenty pounds of nails; a telescope; a woollen carpet; a silk gown; eleven yards of silk; a silver sword hilt; a package of English soap and other miscellaneous things.

The 8th June witnessed no further trouble. The boats floated slowly down the stream during the cool hours of early morning and evening, the passengers passing the hours of midday vainly trying to protect their blistered faces from the furnace-like wind. Their experiences can better be imagined than described; for this was the hottest period of the season, when even within the walls of a house and under a well protected roof, no little discomfort can be experienced. It is not possible to think of the condition of the children without a shudder, cooped up as they were under the low decks and in the mid-cabin of Mr. Brierly's boat, in a temperature of one hundred and fifteen degrees in the shade or more, and not a few, but fifty-two in number. With the exception of one child of Mr. Palmer's, nevertheless, they appear to have won through

to Cawnpore, although had they survived, such a fiery exposure coul not but have left an enduring mark upon them.

At dawn Bithur, the home of the Nana, was reached, and the littl fleet drifting furtively past the ghats was discovered. Heavy musketr fire was opened on them. Mr. Palmer and several others returned th fire, and Mr. Palmer was certain three shots had taken effect. The cours was continued until eight o'clock. About this hour the boats ra aground on a sandy island, called the Ganga Rui Katri, generally unde water in the rains, which was situated a little distance above Nawabgan the north-west suburb of Cawnpore. It was plainly useless to procee Mr. Brierly's heavy boat stuck fast in the shallow water, and from it b telescope several bungalows could be seen blazing in the Civil Station while to the south could be heard the heavy cannonade directed agains General Wheeler's entrenchment. Over against the island on the Oudl bank numbers of men could be seen moving to and fro. The prospec was black, and it seemed the bridge of boats must be in the hands of th mutineers. To halt and obtain news was agreed to be absolutel necessary. The long trek down the Ganges came to an end, then, a 8 a. m. on the 9th June. The boats were hauled up as near as possibl to the island, a long flat expanse of sand covered with tamarisk grass an weeds; and all congregated on Mr. Brierly's boat for the time being Hope died hard, and from what slender evidence there is, it seems ther was not as yet any realisation of the desperate situation into which th fugitives had unwittingly fallen. Mr. Brierly sent his choukidar, Umme the Khitmagar, and Kashi the boatman to the shore to procure inform tion. Kashi was entrusted with a letter for General Wheeler, the beleaguered in his entrenchment, and was lucky to escape with his life for he was seized and imprisoned. The other two returned in the nigh reporting all roads closed and heavy gunfire in the Cantonments. passed a dreadful night in Mr. Brierly's boat, over which the recor draw a veil. Of how the 10th June was passed, and the succeeding nigh there is likewise no hint or word of evidence. The little band made attempt to leave their island, and either were stupefied by a despair

which exhaustion from exposure to the fiery rays of the sun must have contributed, or vainly were waiting for some word from General Wheeler.

The witnesses take up the account on the 11th June. Between 5 and 6 a. m. the early morning tea was being served out and drunk, when without warning the loud explosion of two guns over against the Island, following two rending crashes in Mr. Brierly's boat, threw the fugitives into a panic. A third crash succeeded, the boat rocking violently and settling down as the water poured in through the smashed timbers. A party of mutineers had crossed over the Ganges from the Cawnpore side with two guns, and at short range from the left bank of the river, to the north of the island, opened fire on the largest boat. Two balls struck the boat amidships almost in the same place, making a total wreck of that side; while the third smashed the plank roof of the cabin, reducing it to matchwood and killing Mrs. Ives, an ayah and one child.

There was a rush from the boat, all jumping into the water up to their waists, and making for the island to hide in the tussocks of grass and hollows in the ground, wherever any cover from the cannonade could be found. Most found a refuge behind a long bank of sand by the waters' edge. The little group of missionaries, their families and two Indian workers, who had shared their trials, kept together; and there, huddled on the burning sand with no protection but that afforded by the stunted bushes around, they held their last service together, Mr. Freeman offering up prayers for all. Worse in terror than the cannonade, several boatmen excited to a frenzy after broaching a store of wine in the provision boat, set fire to the thatch of the cabins, and rushed madly over the sand brandishing clubs and sticks. Several of the party, armed with sporting rifles and guns, fired at the boatmen or rebels on the bank; and some there were who, unarmed, were seeking to hide in the grass, and unable to offer any resistance were murdered by the boatmen. Their names are not given, but two days later a Cawnpore merchant crossing the island in his flight from the Nana, saw their corpses lying stiff and stark, where they had been clubbed and struck down, while books, papers and property from the boats were strewn about the shore. The grass near the boats caught

fire. Two ladies and a child had crept into it for shelter. All were burnt or suffocated to death.

The sowars of the 2nd Cavalry, followed by a horde of armed villagers, were seen approaching through the shallow water. There was no thought of resistance. Guns and rifles were thrown into the water and surrender made; for there was little idea that all would share the same fate. The servants scattered over the island, and with the exception of two ayahs, four sweeper women and a sweeper, made their escape. The villagers led by one Jawahir Singh, a zemindar who ended his life on the gallows a few weeks later, plundered the prisoners of their watches, coats, hats, shoes and stockings and emptied their pockets. Barefooted and deprived of all protection from the rays of a June sun, they were hustled into the small boats and transported to the Cawnpore shore. There the ladies and children were made to sit on the ground; while the men were tied by the arms to a long rope, formed into a ring within which the ladies and children were placed, and marched off to the Subadar's Tank. Debi Din, a faithful convert, prevented from serving them to the end, stayed upon the bank straining his eye after the mournful cortege. He heard Mr. Campbell's last farewell before they disappeared behind the houses. Beyond this point there is only the testimony of one eye-witness to tell the tale to its end. Hingun, Mrs. Palmer's ayah, who with her mistress had eight children to care for, states that a long time was taken to reach the Subadar's Tank; for the ladies and children with bare and bleeding feet were scarce able to drag themselves over the road. At nightfall they reached the Tank, and lay on the ground, where they halted, without food and water, until their last day dawned. A little water was given to each. In sixteen bullock carts they were taken through Cawnpore to the parade ground south-west of the Entrenchment, on which the rebel batteries were firing even as they passed. Here stood the Savada Kothi, a large house formerly used as an orphanage by the S. P. G. Mission under the name of the "Salvador." In the compound within a tope of trees towards the south was the Camp and Headquarters of the Nana. The captives were placed early in the morning within the house, of which not a wall is left to-day. The front steps are carefully preserved, and with the foundation ,

which mark the extent of the rooms behind, are the only visible remains of the last resting place on the long journey from Fatehgarh.

At 2 p. m. the Nana sent for the men and inspected them before his tent. It is said he wished them to be kept prisoners, but was overruled by Bala Rao, his brother. Of this, however, there is no certainty, and the one reliable witness, Hingun, was naturally not present. All that is known is that near to 3 p. m. on the 12th June, while the scorching wind was still blowing, all were brought out of the house and made to sit on the ground to the west, the men in one row with their hands bound, the ladies and children in a row in front. Companies of the 1st and 56th Regiments and the 2nd Cavalry opened fire on them at close range, and those who still shewed signs of life were finished off by a band of executioners armed with tulwars. The bodies were put into carts, taken to the nearest river side and thrown into the Ganges near the Sati Chaura Ghat. Even then the lifeless bodies were not spared a last indignity. Owing to the shallowness of the river they could not float away; and next day one witness saw eighteen corpses, mostly of ladies and children, between Sati Chaura and Dulha nullah. For over a mile along the river others could be found for days after, lying motionless in the water.

Here, within a short walk of the modern race course, where the flat parade ground has given way to fields and scattered trees, perished seven of the Brierly family, old established in Fatehgarh and head of the trading community; the Missionaries whose names are perpetuated on the Memorial tablet in Rakha Church; nearly the whole staff of the Clothing Agency, whose workshops and offices stood where now the members of the Fatehgarh Club play tennis; the Cantonment School master; two of the Collector's office; Mr. Maclean and his son-in-law Sergeant Elliott, late of the Bengal Sappers, who right up to the departure from Fatehgarh had sent letters home describing the progress of the Mutiny; Mr. Guise the late tutor of Maharajah Duleep Singh; the Executive Engineer; subordinates of the Gun Carriage Agency, the Postal department and several others of whom there is no description but their bare names. On a column, which surmounts the steps up which they passed, and overlooking

the field where they were done to death, is the simple inscription "*In memoriam Savada Koti, 1857.*" Out of the fourteen memorial tablets upon the walls of All Saints Memorial Church at Cawnpore two record the names of the Fatehgarh fugitives, mingling the names of those who died on the 12th June with those who had on that date yet a short month to live. At Fatehgarh within the Churchyard yet another memorial, which covers a spot of sinister memory, tells most of their names along with those of the victims who lie in the well beneath, those who lie in that other well at Cawnpore, and those who fell by the way and at Savada House.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OUTBREAK.

ON the morning of the 8th June the travellers on the Ramganga reached Hardeo Baksh Singh's stronghold at Dharampur. Mr. Gavin Jones tells of their disillusionment. Here was no fort in the accepted sense of the word, but a large enclosure within mud walls with no accommodation for the ladies or children save that which could be obtained in thatched sheds or under the trees. There were no possibilities of defence, and the place was better described as a farm yard. A few miles before reaching Dharampur Mr. Probyn heard that the 10th, placated by having been given the custody of the Government treasure, had returned to duty. With Lieutenant Fitzgerald and Ensign Eckford he therefore rode the twelve miles to Fatehgarh to see the state of affairs for himself, while the others went on.

At the parade of the 4th June the treasure was being moved to the Fort from the District Courts. It had actually reached the Fort, when the disturbance broke out, which forced five officers to fly to the river. The few who joined the boats at Dahlia reported they had last seen the Colonel galloping to the Fort with the Adjutant, Ensign Henderson. The treasure was just passing through the Fort gate, when a number of the sepoys arrived demanding its return to the lines. The Colonel and Adjutant, dismounting, remonstrated in vain. They were pushed back within a semi-circle of bayonets and kept against the wall, until the treasure carts had proceeded back once more. Full surrender to all demands was made. The sepoys were promised two months' pay in advance, and six months' extra allowance, the treasure, including Maharajah Duleep Singh's jewels, to remain in their custody on the parade ground guarded by two guns. In the evening took place that famous parade, which was the occasion of one of Colonel Smith's most histrionic efforts, which could almost be called comic, if it had not been one of many events

culminating in a tragedy. Colonel Smith addressed the regiment. For their disgraceful conduct, he said, the recruits were only to blame, and therefore forgiving them, he pronounced the regiment faithful and staunch: Trevelyan's biting comment is that after this "both parties were now living together on terms of contemptuous acquiescence on the one side, and doting credulity on the other." Of the dreaded mutineers from Oudh, whose proceedings at Gursahaiganj had precipitated the first flight of the residents, nothing further had been heard. They had reached Kamalganj, eight miles from Fatehgarh, when doubtless they heard of the barricades across the road, and not understanding the attitude of the 10th turned back and went to Delhi by the Grand Trunk road through Chhibramau. The Collector's mounted police had already received two months pay along with the sepoys and for the time being were in good humour. Kalbe Hussain Khan, a Deputy Collector, carried on the daily civil work at Cutcherry; and despite the plundering of the Kanauj sub-treasury by a band of mutinous Cavalry, the district did not as yet appear badly out of order, though to an experienced observer the signs were ominous.

Mohamed Said, a Clerk in the Judge's office testified after the Mutiny that from the 4th June Captain Edward Vibart sat at Cutcherry passing administrative orders and signing papers. On the departure of the civil authorities to Dharampur Colonel Smith assumed charge of the district and deputed Captain Vibart to take over the Civil, Criminal and Revenue offices. Captain Vibart himself had no official connection with Fatehgarh. He belonged to the notorious 2nd Cavalry at Cawnpore, which was commanded by his cousin. In May he had reached Fatehgarh on his way to Naini Tal on leave. Another account is that he was returning from leave. A man of energy and resource, the son of a Bengal Civilian with long connections with India, Captain Vibart early impressed Colonel Smith with his qualities, and voluntarily offering his services was put in charge of the district court offices. He was assisted by Kalbe Hussain and a Subordinate Judge called Tajammul Hussain.

There are no records indicating what measures were undertaken by Colonel Smith through the district staff. It appears that attempts were

made to get bodies of reliable men enlisted for local service. Likha Singh, a powerful zemindar of Allahaganj, was sent funds for the purpose; and even an official of the Collectorate office was sent to his home to use his influence in raising levies. Karam Hussain was a Moharrir in the Magistrate's office. It was ascertained by Captain Vibart that he belonged to a prominent family at Bilgram in the Hardoi district, to which place he was sent with a sum of money and orders to raise a regiment of 200 men. Karam Hussain, although a humble subordinate on the district staff, was not only physically strong, but gifted with a measure of daring and energy, which was afterwards responsible for a career of some interest. He departed for Bilgram early in June, and raised the number of men required. He remained at his home until September, when probably thinking that British influence was extinguished, he marched off with his regiment, divided into two companies of 100 men each in the direction of Bareilly. For the next ten months nothing is known of his movements. On the 30th July 1858, however, a strong force of rebels under Kashif Ali attacked Hardeo Baksh Singh of Dharampur who was well-known as a loyal supporter of Government. Hardeo Baksh Singh fought the rebels at Sandi and inflicted a severe defeat on them in the course of which Karam Hussain was captured. He was forwarded to Fatehgarh for trial. He was unable to give any satisfactory explanation and was sentenced to death and hanged.

On the 7th June Captain Vibart received information that the convicts had overpowered the Superintendent of the Jail and were excavating a hole through the wall with a view to escape; while a company of the 10th N. I. on guard at the Jail were not rendering any assistance.

The old Jail was at Lakhula Bagh, a little distance beyond the present Railway Lines, and was approached by two roads. One road started from Bholepur past the Commissariat Godown to the Jail and was then known as the Jail Road. The other road was from Cantonments through the present Railway Lines. The Jail then contained 625 prisoners, including the most noted criminal in the district, named Burriar Singh, who had been committed to Sessions by Mr. Probyn in

April for 15 crimes including that of murder. The Jail was guarded by a company of the 10th N. I. in addition to its own establishment of barkandazes. The sepoys had been apparently sent as a temporary measure in view of the unsettled conditions then prevailing.

Captain Vibart hastened to the spot by the Jail Road, a portion of which still exists in its original state from the Railway Station Road up to the Military Rest House. Emerging by the present Railway Institute he was soon at the Jail, which was half a mile further along the City road.

The Jail was in an uproar. The convicts had appointed Burriar Singh as General, another convict as Colonel, and two Lieutenants in addition. On entering the Jail with the Superintendent Captain Vibart was assailed by a shower of kankar stones and volleys of abuse. One convict, more daring than the rest, approached Captain Vibart and hit him under the left eye with a brick. The disturbance increasing, Captain Vibart retired outside to assemble the Sepoy guard. The sepoys made no objection and entered the Jail with Captain Vibart, who ordered fire to be opened on the rioters. Seven convicts were killed outright and eight wounded. The remainder rushed into their wards and many jumped into the Jail wells to escape notice. Burriar Singh, the convict General, was searched for and found hiding in his ward. He was taken out, tried summarily under Martial Law and shot. The Jail wall was repaired. This occasion was the last instance of obedience to orders by the sepoys. Colonel Smith paraded the regiment and harangued it. The men swore on Ganges water and on the Koran to be loyal.

Immediately upon his arrival, Mr. Probyn was told he was not wanted, the district being under Matial Law. Lieutenant Fitzgerald and Ensign Eckford were put under arrest for deserting their posts. Mr. Probyn, however, remained on three days in his bungalow, and the records show that the tahsil officers visited him and orders were issued. He saw that the outbreak was only a matter of days and the regiment was fast deteriorating in discipline. He wrote off to Dharampur asking for the Fort there to be placed in a state of defence. Early on the 9th arrived Mr. Edwards, the Budaun Magistrate, with two indigo planters

named Donald, all disguised as Pathans. They came across country from Kaimganj. On the afternoon of the 10th they rode with Mr. Probyn beyond the river to Dharampur, and joined the party staying there. All were dissatisfied. Mr. Gavin Jones relates that everyone felt the insecurity of Dharampur, and regretted they had not gone on to Cawnpore. The news of the Mutiny at that station had, however, now reached them, and there was more talk of proceeding to Agra by land. The heat was tremendous. Mr. Edwards remarks how during the afternoon ride from Fatehgarh the sun had blistered his hands "into a mass of pulp". The discomfort of Hardeo Baksh Singh's house appeared more and more insupportable; and when, the day after Mr. Probyn's return on the 10th, letters came from Colonel Smith inviting the party to return, saying he had one-hundred and fifty men on whom he could rely to fight a way to Allahabad if events forced them to take that course, everyone hailed the plan with acclamation. Some no doubt, as Trevelyan has it, regretted "the punkhas, the mosquito nets, the soda water and bottled beer of their abandoned homes," the lack of which gives some faint idea of life in the Dharampur farm yard in an Indian June. The majority, however, must have reasoned like Mr. Gavin Jones that it could not be worse at Fatehgarh than it was in the Dharampur jungles. Accordingly on the 12th June at 2 a. m. in the morning in spite of all Mr. Probyn could say to break them of their infatuation, the whole party set off in the darkness to Fatehgarh on ponies, in bullock carts, and a few palanquins belonging to Hardeo Baksh Singh. On arrival at the station, however, few ventured to live in their old homes. With several exceptions all slept in the Fort at night on the bank of the river, seventeen boats having been made ready at the landing place outside by the gate to get them away escorted by the 150 sepoys; for it appears certain that Colonel Smith had no intention of holding the Fort. At Dharampur were left the Probyn family, Mr. Edwards, the Budaun refugee, and four servants.

Mr. Thornhill, the District Judge, was among those who returned; and the records indicate that he resumed his functions in spite of Martial

Law. The sepoys remained quiet; and for the next four days, in the words of the Official Narrative, "there was the stillness that precedes the storm". On the 16th June a prisoner in the Jail, named Kesri, was to be executed by order of the High Court at Agra. Mr. Thornhill issued a warrant for the execution. The military detachment at the Jail refused to allow the Jail Superintendent to carry the warrant into effect. Mohamed Said, the Civil Court Clerk, went to the Fort with the news, and told Colonel Smith. He found Colonel Tucker and Dr. Maltby in consultation with Colonel Smith. The news was taken seriously; and it was resolved that the energetic Captain Vibart should deal with the situation. Doctor Maltby volunteered to go with him; and Captain Vibart asked Mr. Thornhill to accompany them. The three officers proceeded to the Jail and found the sepoys obdurate. They would not allow this execution to proceed and insisted on Kesri's release; and the release had to be sanctioned.

On the 14th June the mutineers from Sitapur, after massacring their officers at that station, arrived at Allahganj across the river on their way to Delhi. They were composed of the 41st N. I., the Oudh Local Cavalry and the 10th Oudh Irregulars, commonly styled the Ghalla Regiment. The 41st N. I. had a terrible record for blood-thirstiness. They had murdered their officers at Sitapur, slaughtered the Commissioner and residents, and destroyed the Civil Station by fire. They were invariably known as the Doobye Regiment after their first Commander, a Colonel Dubois, and curiously enough were raised at Fatehgarh in 1803. It was only fitting, therefore, that the regiment should here terminate its existence; and in January 1858 it was cut to pieces by Sir Colin Campbell at Khudaganj.

The Sitapur force was welcomed at Allahganj by Likha Singh, the zemindar. He had been given funds by Colonel Smith to raise a local levy and keep the mutineers at bay, who, uncertain as to the reception they might receive at Fatehgarh, were timid in their movements. A resolute front by Likha Singh would have made them turn aside. Instead he welcomed them with all good-will, and gathered provisions and

transport for their march to Fatehgarh. Not only that, but he followed the mutineers with a band of 200 of his tenants armed with matchlocks, and arrived on the 19th. He set to work to plunder the splendid house and toshakhana of Maharajah Duleep Singh. Five boat loads of valuable furniture, tents, carpets, curtains, silver etc. were ferried across the Ganges from Rani Ghat below the house; and the estimate of the Maharajah's losses was subsequently put at a lakh of rupees. As the trying Magistrate remarked at the trial of Likha Singh, he was a true "robber chief" and "dacoit of the first magnitude", plundering travellers on the road, and paying off old scores on his neighbours for the rest of the period of the Mutiny. He was transported for life, and suffered confiscation of all his property.

On the 16th June a Hindi letter from the Subadar commanding the 41st was received by the Native Officers of the 10th. This letter ordered them to kill their officers. The messenger and his letter were brought before Colonel Smith. A reply was dictated but never sent. A secret communication instead was sent to the 41st inviting them to Fatehgarh, and saying that, while the 10th would not kill their officers, the 41st would not be opposed in doing so.

The attitude of the Nawab at this juncture was a deciding factor in precipitating the rebellion. There is no doubt that the formation of a rebel Government had been taken in hand at the beginning of June; for the leading Pathans of Kaimganj were in close communication with Farrukhabad. At the end of May, having heard of the Meerut mutiny, Ahmad Yar Khan with his relation Multan Khan and Ashrat Khan visited the Nawab and stayed two days with him. On their return to Kaimganj they called up their dependents and all army cavalrymen on leave, of which there were numbers in Shamsabad, Kaimganj Town and Raipur village. On the 6th June they again visited the Nawab with fifty horsemen, but had to return the next day, since the 10th were not yet ripe for mutiny, and Colonel Smith, hearing of their presence, ordered the Nawab to dismiss them. All three men became leaders of the Nawab's subsequent administration, and after fighting at Patiali against Colonel Seaton went into hiding. Multan Khan gave himself up and was transported

for nine years. Ahmed Yar Khan was captured, but died during his trial. The other was last heard of in Central India, flying from jungle to jungle with Tantia Topi, until he disappeared into oblivion.

Every effort was being made to suborn the wayward sepoys of the 10th, who seemed impatient of discipline and yet would not revolt. The records present a slight picture of what was going on. At the trial of Wazir Khan, the Nawab's coachman, it was revealed that this man, who more than any other thoroughly deserved the fate he afterwards met upon the gallows, had driven daily down to the lines to preach sedition with Sheobrati Khan, a Hindu teli or oilman of Delhi, converted to Islam and a favourite of the Nawab. On one occasion, just after the 4th June, Wazir Khan took the head of the City Police for a drive, and remarked to him that the buggy they were sitting in belonged to Mr. Thornhill, and he was taking safe custody of it for that gentleman!

Lance-Naik Charan, late of the 10th N. I., saw these two constantly visit the Grenadier Company and utter seditious speeches. Lance-Naik Mohamed-Baksh reported their presence in the lines to Havildar-Major Bu Ali Baksh. The Havildar-Major, afterwards a shopkeeper in Cawnpore, came to Fatehgarh and deposed that he personally reported to Colonel Smith, who merely contented himself with a verbal order that outsiders were to be kept out of the lines. Other evidence showed that in the middle of June there was a clear case for disarming the Grenadier Company, and possible too, if only every resident in the station had been mobilised to do it. It was an open secret that the Nawab was turning against Government, and, as the City Kotwal showed, he could have been put right by a show of resolution. Nothing unhappily was done between the 12th and 16th June.

The Nawab had been much disturbed at the departure of Mr. Probyn and Mr. Thornhill, the Judge. He sent Ram Narain, the Munsif of Kanauj, with a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra. He anxiously enquired from the Kotwal if Mr. Probyn had really left the district, to which the Kotwal replied that Mr. Probyn had only gone two kos away, and Colonel Smith was carrying on the administration. The same day,

however, the 4th June, the Nawab thought good to make proclamation in the City assuming the Government for himself. He proclaimed that anybody making a disturbance would be blown from a gun. This excited the anger of Colonel Smith, who sent a letter of protest through his mounted orderly, Jemadar Mohan Lal. The Nawab alleged he was acting in accordance with Mr. Thornhill's instructions for procedure during a disturbance of the peace! On the departure of the chief civil officers, minor officials went down to Farrukhabad in batches to pay obeisance to the Nawab. In particular the Mounted Police deserted almost in a body at the instance of Mohamed Azim Khan, their Jemadar. This man, with Sheobrati, the converted teli, was sent on the 17th with a deputation to Allahganj to invite the Sitapur mutineers to the City. It was this step which made the Mutiny at Fatehgarh certain; and it is not too much to say that if the Nawab had exerted all his power to assist Colonel Smith during the middle of June, the tragic scenes of the Fatehgarh rebellion would never have taken place.

On the 1st June Mr. Probyn had opened the bridge of boats at Ghatia Ghat; and brought some boats over to the Fatehgarh bank. Colonel Smith ordered the boats to be sunk, a work which was carried out by the City Kotwal, Akbar Ali. The Nawab was ordered to station two guns at Shikarpur Ghat, between Ghatia Ghat and the City; and Jemadar Mohan Lal and a few horsemen were sent there by Captain Vibart to see that the crossing of the river was guarded. Late on the 17th Mohan Lal was told the arrangements were useless, and dismissed to his home. The Native Officers of the 10th asked Colonel Smith to retire to the Fort; and that night all residents of the station with a few exceptions were safe within its walls, the officers, who were sleeping together at the Dak Bungalow, coming in last of all.

The day had been one of fearful suspense for those already in the Fort. From Mr. Gavin Jones' account it would seem that most of the residents were already camping there, and most certainly were sleeping on the walls and banks by the river side. Before daybreak next morning Jemadar Mohan Lal dashed in from the lines. His words were that the

regiment was in mutiny and the 41st were expected at once from across the river. Lieutenant Swetenham roused the sleepers. There was a terrible panic. A detachment of the 10th was at that very moment in the Fort itself; and there was nothing to prevent them turning their arms on the defenceless crowd of men, women and children, gathered in groups by the Agent's house, watching in trepidation their every moment at the guard house. To-day this spot is little changed and it requires but scant imagination to call up that scene. Where now is a bare platform, there stood the thatched bungalow of the Gun Carriage Agent, with a balcony overhanging the river. The foundations can be traced, and the old nim trees, which shade the road in front, stood there this hot June morning. The guard house was a few yards distant only, and out of it the sepoys issued, at first dribbling away through the gate in small numbers, and finally the main body, shaking off all semblance of discipline, hurried off to participate in the plunder, and left the Fort to the refugees.

On this day, the 18th, the Mutiny broke out in earnest. The 41st and 10th Oudh Irregulars crossed the Ganges, just north of the City, in boats procured by Likha Singh, and by the afternoon encamped at Bhirra Bagh, a mile from the City on the Kadri Darwaza road, and not far from the present Potato Research Farm. The 10th N. I., determined to forestall the newcomers, sent the Grenadier and Light Companies with the regimental band into the City to instal the Nawab upon his throne with a royal salute of thirty or forty blank shots at irregular intervals, which was heard by the refugees at Dharampur twelve miles distant. The two Companies then hastened back to the parade ground to join in a proclamation parade, and saluted their Colours with another royal salute.

Proclamation by beat of drum was made in the bazars; and there is still living in Fatehgarh town an aged Maulvi, named Inayat Ullah, who coming home from school that day heard the town crier announcing the new Government; "Khalq Allah ka, mulk badshah ka, hukm Nawab Rais Bahadur ka!", that is to say "The World is God's, the country is the Emperor's, the Nawab, the ruler, is in command!" The jail was then opened and the six hundred and twenty-five prisoners released.

Not the least interesting record is that which tells of the patient search for these prisoners in the years following the Mutiny, when the newly constituted Police Force scoured the district for them. In 1858, the year after, 157 prisoners were recaptured, followed by the arrest of 207 in 1859, 179 in 1860, 62 in 1861 and 20 in 1862.

All the morning the Sitapur force was making its crossing; and while the 10th were busy in empty show and parade, the bad characters of the Fatehgarh bazar were sacking and looting; and it was not long before those standing on the Fort walls could see the flames shooting up from the blazing thatch of their homes, their cherished possessions having been conveyed in cart loads to the Kotwali in the town to be sold by auction by Jemadar Bhikari Das. The judicial trials held after the Mutiny before the Special Commissioners indicate that the bad characters of the bazar were responsible for the first sacking of the station, and only awaited the rising of the 10th to indulge themselves in indiscriminate murder and plunder.

There were many in the Civil Station who did not go into the Fort on the 17th, chiefly those of the Anglo-Indian community, reluctant to leave their property or else not informed in time by the authorities. To these unfortunates the mutineers directed their first attention.

Mrs. Hannah Collins was a rich old lady, who owned three bungalows and was known to have a quantity of jewellery in her house. She refused to give it up and was cut down by the mutineers. The house was gutted. A bazar tailor took off her young daughter, who was brought back next day to point out where the jewels were hid, and by a refinement of cruelty shown the remains of her murdered mother, and then killed. The house stood in the Company Gardens on the bare space west of the present Club tennis courts.

Bhullan, the Cantonment baker, aided by Imam Baksh, the Superintendent of the roads, Bhikari Das, a Police Jemadar, and a band of ten bad characters, made active search for the Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian residents, with whom they were well acquainted. Bhullan murdered a pensioned bandsman with his own hands, and took nineteen other persons

to the Nawab's Fort. They were kept in captivity but a short time; and all perished on the 23rd July in the parade ground massacre. Bhullan himself expiated his crimes on the gallows. On the approach of the British forces, he fled to Cawnpore and had the effrontery to engage himself as a baker to the 38th Foot. The Quarter Master of the regiment gave him two months leave in October 1858. He returned to Fatehgarh Town to enjoy his leave, was at once arrested and hanged the same month. His old associate Imam Bakhsh was awarded 14 years transportation with irons.

Mrs. Sturt and her two children lived alone. Mrs. Sturt secreted herself in a stack of tamarisk grass near her bungalow, and during the night of the 18th was carried, stack and all, across the Ganges by some boatmen to the friendly village of Kachwagara. She eventually escaped to Agra after getting in touch with Mr. Churcher hiding in Karhar. Several letters written by her son John seem to show that he was with her. Miss Sturt's actions are mysterious. She and her mother had both left on June 4th in the boats and were among those who returned from Dharampur. Miss Sturt, but not her mother, went to the Fort on the 17th. She left with the garrison, and perished at Cawnpore in the Bibighar. The identity of Mrs. Sturt is an interesting case for speculation. Gulab, the milkman, who is perhaps the only living inhabitant of Fatehgarh with any clear remembrance of the mutiny, thinks she lived in the present Court of Wards bungalow next to the District Courts. An inscription in the Protestant Cemetery at Agra must refer to her. It records the burial place of Madeleine Sturt aged 51 years, who died in 1859. She was the second wife of a Bengal Civilian. This is a close connection with the Mrs. Sturt of Fatehgarh; for the records contain several letters written by her from Agra in 1858.

The two brothers Hine, employed as clerks in the Collector's office, lived on the space west of the Gracey Tennis Club in the Company Garden. Both escaped to Mahupur village near the present District Jail; but their sister was captured and killed on the parade ground. Miss O'Connor was conducted by her cook from Fatehgarh to Agra, an amazing journey through country in a state of rebellion and lawlessness.

Miss Harriet Potter, who lived south of No. 14 bungalow, had a very narrow escape. At 8 a. m. on the 18th she determined to go to the Fort, and had actually got within sight of it, when the sepoys caught her on the road. A passer-by, who was the zamindar of Kutlapur, saved her life and conveyed her across the river to that village, now well-known to the duck shooters of Fatehgarh.

No less extraordinary was the escape of Mr. David Churcher, an indigo planter, and one of the two European survivors of the siege of the Fort. He belonged to a family, the history of which is inseparable from that of Fatehgarh; and not only does his father's name recur again and again in the oldest papers of the district, but even to this day the recollection of "David Sahib" lingers on in the bazars.

Thomas Churcher, indigo planter, appeared in Fatehgarh in 1832. That year he bought a large bungalow on the Ganges' bank from William Jennings for Rs. 8,000, and there he resided with five sons up to 1850, when he transferred the property to Sir John Login for the use of Maharajah Duleep Singh. Sir John Login, the Maharajah's guardian, himself lived in the house, the site of which is now covered by the Officers' Mess. It has been noticed that at the time of the Outbreak the house was inhabited by Colonel Smith. The Churchers removed to a house in the locality which is now occupied by the Police Lines. This was a quarter which indigo planters appear to have adopted as their own; for close beside the Churchers were to be found the Jones family and the house belonging to Mr. Gilmore, covering the sixth hole of the present golf links. Mr. Gilmore's house was empty, and he seems to have been out of the station in 1857. A tablet in the Memorial Church shows that he died in 1884 at Landour, having been a resident of Fatehgarh since 1850. He was a friend of the Churchers, and the last indigo planter of the district.

In April three of the Churcher brothers were in the house, Thomas Churcher, senior having migrated to the adjoining district of Etah, and made his home there. Impressed by the reports of growing lawlessness in the district, the brothers set about making plans. All their cash and

valuables were locked in an iron safe, which they threw into a well under cover of night. Their parents were alone in Etah, and one brother had necessarily to go there to assist them. It remained to decide which of them should undertake this duty. Mr. E. J. Churcher, in his recollections of the Mutiny, has related how lots were cast to settle the dispute. They sent for the "bearer" and gave him a Bible, which he was directed to take into the compound and place in it three straws of different lengths, the ends of which were to protrude from between the pages. The one who drew the longest straw was to make the journey, and this fell to the lot of E. J. Churcher, who set off at night on a Waler horse without any further delay.

Thomas and David Churcher remained on in the house for two months, until warning came on the night of the 17th June. Thomas obeyed the summons; but his brother stayed on, buoyed up by the vain hope that the situation was not yet beyond despair. He was rudely undeceived the next day, when an excited mob of bad characters from the surrounding hamlets poured into the compound to loot and destroy. All day in great anguish of mind he lay concealed under a heap of hides in a closed godown near the house; and his escape was indeed providential. The mob broke open the doors, and tossed the hides about without discovering him. As soon as the grounds were empty, a Chamar named Chhote conveyed him to Mahrupur, two miles down the Cawnpore road, and on the night of the 23rd he managed to get into the Fort and join the garrison.

The Indian Christian community was relentlessly hunted down and driven to the country side. Many statements of interest were taken by Mr. Fullerton, the American Missionary, after the Mutiny. They show that the Christians were marked out for persecution; and many of them wandered as far as Delhi and Cawnpore. One Christian Catechist at the end of July was cautiously making his escape through the fields, bordering the Cawnpore road near Kamalganj, when he came upon a European lying on his back in a mango grove. He remonstrated with him, pointing out that the neighbouring village of Amanabad was full of rebels. The fugitive, however, said he must rest his horse and added that he had just

sent a man to the village for food. This imprudence cost him his life: for a party of horsemen issued forth from the village and killed him in the act of mounting his horse. There is no record indicating who this person was, and the incident remains a mystery.

The Christian village at Rakha was attacked, and its inmates forced to fly. Particularly distressing was the condition of the blind girls in the orphanage, who with no guidance were thrust out of their home to beg for food. Accompanied by one blind leper boy they remained for long without shelter and food. Only one had died, however, when Mr. Fullerton returned to Fatehgarh in 1858 to rebuild the Mission.

Out in the district Mr. Hugh Maxwell, the indigo planter at Mehndi Ghat near Kanauj, escaped; but his house and factory were looted and over a lakh's worth of property stolen. In 1858 Mr. Maxwell charged two hundred and sixty-five persons with this offence, a number subsequently reduced to nine. Sixty-four boxes containing personal effects, silver plate, three clocks, pictures, furniture, a carriage and a tent were among the articles enumerated. Mr. Doran, Agent of Maclean, Guise & Co. escaped in disguise to Jankhat village and shortly after to Agra.

After the Mutiny a tragedy, which had occurred at Sikandarpur on the Grand Trunk road, came to light through an informer. At noon on the 3rd June, an English lady travelling in the fearful heat towards Cawnpore reached Sikandarpur, the name of a group of hamlets midway between Chhibramau and Gursahaiganj. She came riding on an ekka with her ayah, and was followed by a bullock cart containing personal luggage. Her movements before that day cannot be traced; but she does not appear to have been seen passing through Chhibramau Town, where as now there was a Police Station. At Sikandarpur she heard that rebel cavalry from Oudh was marching up the Grand Trunk Road towards her. This was the force, composed of part of two Oudh Irregular Infantry Corps and one Irregular Cavalry Corps, which crossed the Ganges on the 2nd June, and burnt the Dak Bungalow and Police Station at Gursahaiganj. There was a small Police Outpost at Sikandarpur; and halting at the door the lady appealed to the Jemadar for a place of concealment. Escorted by

two Chokidars, she was conducted to the house of Khuman Singh, the lambardar, in Khera Jagdishpur, who promised her protection.

No sooner had the chokidars left than Khuman Singh and his servants, their cupidity excited by the cart laden with property, cut the helpless woman down with their tulwars, having dragged her to a distance of two fields away. The ayah was also killed. Property, including clothes and a box of rupees, was distributed among Khuman Singh's followers.

In August 1858 Khuman Singh and another lambardar of the village were hanged for this brutal murder. It transpired at the trial that this lady could only have been the wife of a Canal Sergeant. There were two such Sergeants working on the Lower Ganges Canal near Chhibramau; and both were out in the district and had to fly to Cawnpore, where they were killed. Their wives were never traced; and there can be little doubt that the lonely fugitive at Sikandarpur was one of them, and not Mrs. Eckford, as is commonly supposed. Mrs. Eckford had been sent to Allahabad on the 23rd May, by her husband. She was never heard of again. She went by road, it is true; but on the same date Captain Phillott sent his wife to Allahabad, and she appears to have reached that place. Sikandarpur was not on Mrs. Eckford's road; and it was not possible for her to have remained eleven days within twenty miles of Fatehgarh without leaving some indication of her movements.

To return to Fatehgarh, nothing happened after the morning parade of the 18th, when the 10th with due ceremony had proclaimed its sovereignty in the station, and so sealed its own fate. That the reason of this inaction might not be overlooked, the witnesses naively deposed that in the broiling sun it was too hot to indulge in any further mutiny for the moment; but at 3 p. m. the Sitapur Force commenced action, sending over two companies of the 41st and 10th Oudh Irregulars from Bhirra Bagh. On emerging from the City road, which now runs through the Railway lines to the Church, the Sitapur mutineers found themselves face to face with the 10th N. I. guarding the treasure at their Quarter Guard. A share was demanded and refused. The visitors, inured already to a long course of murder and bloodshed, opened fire without further parley, and shot down a dozen of the 10th, only retiring for a while to obtain

reinforcements. The 10th in the end had to agree to divide the treasure, and by way of guarantee surrendered their Colours and ammunition. The 41st in a most unaccountable manner considered the pact would be honoured, and turning their backs on the 10th left them in possession. The Fatehgarh sepoys at once in a frenzy of haste struggled for the rupees and filling their pockets dissolved into a mob, each making for his own village. Four companies nevertheless, under Subadar Misr Shankar, taking off their booty in carts, got away across the Ganges before night in some semblance of military formation.

One of those singular escapades, which could only come into being in times of stress and revolution, dramatic and inexplicable, and ending as this one did, in disaster and death, marked the close of the day. Captain Francis D'Oyly Bignell, the hero of it, had nineteen years service in the regiment and was for long its Adjutant. His intimate knowledge of the men in the regiment made him their most fanatical admirer. As Adjutant, he was one of the few officers who could speak to the men in their own language, and the holding of the appointment in those days indicates as much. Though cooped up in the Fort with the others on the 18th June, he could not have been unaware of the happenings on the parade ground. Waiting until nightfall he left the Fort, in circumstances of which there is no account, and by swimming the Ganges was able to join Subadar Misr Shankar and that detachment of the 10th, which had crossed the Ganges with the vague intention of marching to Lucknow and perhaps attacking Hardeo Baksh Singh, and promising to themselves the plunder of Dharampur on the road.

Only the bare outline of the adventure has been traced. The sepoys met with disaster along the whole route. Passing close by Dharampur they nevertheless veered off, and penetrated into Hardoi District, the presence of the treasure carts attracting the violent attentions of the Oudh freebooters. At Uncha Tela and Durgaganj the Thakur villagers made fierce assault on them, and to this day Durgaganj preserves a reputation for lawlessness. At Durgaganj the sepoys were sick of perpetual strife; and decision was made to abandon Lucknow, and re-crossing the Ganges

return into the district. No details are forthcoming; but this much transpired after the Mutiny, that the Durgaganj villagers were bought off, and agreed to convey the remnant of the sepoys, still accompanied by Captain Bignell, across the Ramganga. It will not be out of place to record here an interesting reminiscence of the Mutiny, related in 1926 by a very old Kayasth resident of this very village. This aged man in 1857 was a young clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office at Mallawan. On the destruction of the offices he retired to his home at Durgaganj, which lay on the main route to Delhi. He recounts that one day an advanced guard of a mutinous regiment from Lucknow, consisting of a few men, appeared in the village, and ordered the inhabitants to lay out their valuables and property by the side of the road for the inspection of the approaching regiment. This was done, and the rebels marching through the village without stopping were able to select what articles took their fancy, and pass on with celerity and despatch. The enraged villagers, suspecting this would not be the last imposition of this nature, and finding that the next body of rebels reaching their village was not of any size, laid an ambush, and inflicted some loss on them. It is tempting to believe that here is a genuine description of the welcome given to Captain Bignell and his errant men, and a striking corroboration of the entry in the records that particular opposition was encountered from the Gailwar Thakurs of Durgaganj.

At Meora Ghat they embarked in boats to cross the Ganges, and during the crossing pushed Captain Bignell over the side into the water, saying that it was on his account they were being attacked. True to their creed the 10th would not murder their own officers outright. The unfortunate man swam up stream to the banks of Siriapur village on the Oudh bank; and here the villagers found his body. Some say he died of exhaustion, and others say sunstroke. Little is known; for even the file concerned with the investigation a year later is now missing from the records. Of Captain Bignell nothing more will be heard until 1858, when a Mrs. Bignell, plainly described as "Captain Bignell's Mem," mysteriously appears in Fatehgarh, and just as mysteriously leaves the place without leaving a clue to her identity. Subadar Misr Shankar and his

men too disappeared into limbo. Their story stops midway across the Ganges.

On the 19th June the Sitapur mutineers found that the 10th, all but two companies, had disappeared from Fatehgarh with the treasure. Their rage knew no bounds, and on this day the systematic destruction of the station was undertaken. With the exception of the building now in use as the Indian Military Hospital, and Madden's bungalow on the site of the Memorial Church, every house was fired; the District Courts plundered; the records destroyed in blazing bonfires; the bazars of Fatehgarh Town looted; and the lines of the 10th wiped out of existence. Search was made for Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, loyalists and in particular for the two companies of the 10th, who for some obscure reason had neglected to leave the place. These men, fearing only too truly the vengeance of the Sitapur mutineers, stole away to Farrukhabad City, and took up their quarters in one of the walled gardens near the Nawab's house. Here they were tracked down, and demand was made of the Nawab that these men should at once assault the Fort. There was a dispute ending in a fight, and the remnant of the 10th passed away, being cut to pieces where they stood, and leaving few survivors. Little after this will be heard of the 10th. A few recruits, who state that they were still under training at the time of the outbreak seem to have been kept by the 41st as menial servants and camp guards. An enigmatic entry in the Cawnpore records describes the attendance of a detachment of the 10th N. I. at a parade before the Nana. Unless this was the remnant of the little force, which Captain Bignell had accompanied in its reckless flight through Oudh, it is hard to account for its presence. With this exception perhaps no portion of the regiment remained in coherent military formation. It disappeared within a fortnight, and its very lines and barracks were utterly wiped out of existence. Fickleness, indecision, and want of spirit make the Mutiny history of this regiment a more than interesting study; and it cannot be too much regretted that so little has come down to this day to enable its story to be reconstructed from the inside.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIEGE.

(SEE MAP III.)

AS already related in Chapter IV, on the morning of the 18th June news reached the Fort that the 41st N. I. were arriving and that the 10th N. I. were in a state of mutiny. Directly the last man of the Guard left the Fort the gates were closed, and a somewhat belated search started for the means of defence. The result was not very encouraging. Seven pieces of ordnance were forthcoming, all of different calibres, between two and three hundred muskets, some boxes of ball ammunition for the latter, and a few boxes of blank. Mallu, the Fort doorkeeper, and Sheoparshad, the Jemadar of Major Robertson of the Gun-carriage factory, managed to steal between five and six thousand cartridges from the 10th N. I., and brought them into the Fort. Of round shot for the guns only about 30 were to be found. It should be borne in mind that the Fort had not for many years been considered as a defensive work, but had simply housed the Gun-carriage factory, and the representative assortment of artillery which was found was in the Fort merely to ensure that the gun-carriages were made to the correct measurements. There was a 3-pr., a 6-pr., a 9-pr., a 12-pr., an 18-pr., a 24-pr. and a small brass mortar. One of these was hurriedly loaded with scrap metal and placed in position opposite the gate in case of immediate attack. Practically all the gun ammunition had to be improvised, such things as hammer-heads, nuts and bolts being sewn up in canvas bags to fulfil the purpose of grape. For powder for the guns the defenders had little more than was obtainable by breaking up the blank ammunition.

The circumference of the Fort was 1500 yards, of which 450 yards overlooked the river, and on this face there were no defences of any sort. At intervals round the walls were 10 bastions, which overlooked and to some extent enfiladed the dry moat. They were, however, in a very bad

state of repair, incapable of stopping a round shot at parapet level, and in many cases overlooked by the houses of Hussainpur bazar, 100 yards across the road from the gate. The mud walls of the Fort, too, were sloping affairs up which an ascent was easy in many places.

To defend this enormous perimeter with its inadequate walls, and to work the miscellaneous artillery, the potential defenders numbered 35 only out of a total of 105 refugees. These figures must be taken as approximate only. Different accounts give different figures, and it is impossible to check them. The defenders' strength may be taken as the maximum, but the figures for the non-combatants are probably on the low side, if the servants who had remained with their employers, but were incapable of bearing arms, are taken into account.

As the gun was placed opposite the gateway those already in the Fort were joined by Colonel Smith, who had been making a last attempt to get his men to remain staunch. The sight of the treasure was far too much for them, and he had to return to the Fort, escorted by "three or four of his most attached men, who hung about him sobbing like children." Mr. Gavin Jones records that they implored to be allowed to remain with him in the Fort and share his dangers, but that Colonel Smith considered their presence would be a source of danger, being liable to draw on the defenders the vengeance of their comrades. They therefore reluctantly departed and the gates were finally closed and barricaded.

Defence measures now commenced in earnest, but it was fortunate for the garrison that dissensions between the 10th and the 41st, and other matters, postponed an attack for eight days. The lighter guns were dragged with difficulty on to the ramparts, and placed in positions where they were most likely to be of use. In order to deceive the enemy a number of dummy guns were also constructed and placed in exposed positions. Gun-carriages were available in any quantity, and on these were mounted blackboard shields with a hole cut in the centre and a wooden gun muzzle stop inserted. That they were sufficiently realistic for an enemy unprovided with field glasses was fully proved later on. They showed well above the parapet and caused vast expenditure of

ammunition from the two guns which the enemy possessed before they were finally converted into splinters. It has been stated that towards the end of the siege the rebels were reduced to using stones for round shot.

Of the 10 bastions it was obviously impossible for the little garrison to attempt to occupy all, and eventually only three were occupied in any strength, those at the angles, under the command respectively of Colonels Smith, Tucker and Goldie. The remainder were occupied by sentries only. Unfortunately there is no record as to which bastion these officers commanded respectively, but it appears that Colonel Smith must have been in the one at the S. W. corner of the Fort, Colonel Tucker at the S. E. corner, and Colonel Goldie at the N. W. Not only was Colonel Smith's the most dangerous point owing to the proximity of the Hussainpur bazar, but it had another serious weakness. Abutting on the wall, from the corner bastion to that next to it in the direction of the gate, was a wood yard surrounded by low walls, and the defence of this caused the garrison much anxiety until a variation of the "dummy" idea was hit on. A gun tumbril was accordingly filled with charcoal dust and buried very obviously at an angle of the yard on top of the wall. Ample traces of charcoal "gunpowder" were left about on the ground, and a heavy train of it taken into the nearby bastion, occupied by Colonel Smith's picket. This "mine" was spotted very early in the siege by the enemy, who treated it with the utmost respect. Mr. Gavin Jones describes it as being "as good as fifty men."

All the three hundred muskets were kept ready loaded against the ramparts, so that in an emergency something like rapid fire would be possible for a time at least. Some of the servants were trained to load them as fast as they were fired. An attempt was made to level the Hussainpur bazar, which not only gave the enemy excellent cover close to the Fort but also seriously reduced our own field of fire, but little could be done in that direction, and it was an attack on coolies engaged in this work that started the siege proper.

After settling their differences with the 10th N. I. the 41st, having moved their camp from Bhirra Bagh to Shisham Bagh, took it very easy

for some days, and when taxed with their inaction stated that they were waiting for an auspicious day, and that the 25th June was that indicated by the omens. It is also on record that the 41st had demanded ladders and sulphur from the Nawab before attacking, and that the Nawab had said that such things were nothing to do with him. Eventually Ghulam Ali Khan, the Kotwal in the city, had provided the necessary equipment, an action which, in the fulness of time, materially assisted in putting a noose round his neck. The 41st also demanded Rs. 1¼ lakhs as the price for assaulting the Fort, a sum which was immediately collected from the merchants in the city. It was not until the evening of the 25th that the first move was actually made by the Mutineers, and the party mentioned above was fired on. Nothing further occurred that night, but before dawn next morning an attack was commenced in the classical manner with a bombardment from the two guns which had guarded the Treasure on the parade ground, and before that been taken to Colonel Smith's house when it was a rallying point.

Not knowing what to expect, but painfully aware of their inadequate numbers, the defenders rushed to their posts and knelt in the dark behind the ramparts, while the rebels' round shot whizzed over their heads. Their peace of mind was not increased by the report received the day before to the effect that the enemy were going to use scaling ladders on every face of the Fort, and had collected fifty for the purpose. The artillery fire did not last long, it having dawned on the Sepoys that all their precious shot were going over the Fort and falling into the Ganges. Dawn broke shortly afterwards, and revealed the enemy drawn up in line on the ground to the West of the Fort, in the direction of the present Maude Lines. The Cavalry trotted forward to the cover of a large tope of trees near the road, and the artillery were posted in another large tope some 1,500 yards to the West, whence they recommenced and maintained a steady fire from their 6-prs., though with no more effect than in the dark. The distance and bearing given are in accordance with Mr. Gavin Jones' account, and if correct would place the guns beyond and to the right of the present Locomotive sheds. From this direction and distance it is improbable that the Fort was in clear view, and bearing in mind the range

of the Brown Bess musket there seems to be no reason for the guns being placed so far away from their target. It is, therefore, possible that there is an error in the figure of 1,500 yards.

The infantry advanced in skirmishing order, keeping up a fire from their muskets to cover the advance of the ladder parties who were following them across the maidan. As many as a dozen of these ladders came into sight of Mr. Gavin Jones' post at one time, almost within musket shot from the walls, but orders were passed round to reserve fire in order that none of the precious ammunition might be wasted. The rebel musketry fire was now intense, and was mingled with yells from the assaulting party, and Mr. Jones describes the noise as making their blood creep. It must indeed have been a nerve wracking experience to all the defenders, and particularly so to those who had had no previous experience of arms, as was the case with many of the small garrison. At last they neared the walls, and, emboldened by the silence of the defenders up to then, dashed forward with the ladders in an endeavour to plant them against the wall before the defence could check them. The bastion in which Mr. Jones was posted appears to have been the one on the right of that in the South-West corner of the Fort. The Fort guns opened a withering fire of odds and ends, backed up by musketry, on the ladder parties which were now within 100 yards of the walls in front of his post. Many of the ladder bearers fell, and as none stepped forward to take their places the remainder wavered, dropped their ladders, and fled to cover. This unexpected and easy success raised the spirits of the defenders enormously, and so well did they ply their arms that in a short time they saw their immediate foes, after a few more abortive attempts, retire completely from the field.

At the South-West corner the defenders had not been so successful to start with. It was a difficult point to cover with fire from the flanks, and the scaling party had managed to plant three ladders against the walls. It was most fortunate for the defenders of the post and the garrison as a whole that in calculating the length of ladder required, the depth of the ditch, possibly because it was out of sight, had not been

taken into account, and the bayonets of the attackers were the only things that appeared above the parapet. This bastion was evidently one which had a very low breastwork, for it had been necessary to heighten it, and the material had been found in the heavy half-wrought gun wheel naves of which the gun-carriage factory had a large stock. The defenders immediately rolled these off the wall on to the ladders, whose occupants were swept off into the ditch, where a heavy musketry fire was turned on to them. The attack continued for some two hours, gradually diminishing in vigour, and the enemy then left the field, leaving a large number of casualties scattered over their line of advance and in the ditch. The attack was renewed in the afternoon, but the high morale was now on the side of the defenders, who drove the Sepoys back with considerable loss while suffering none themselves. After dark the ladders which had been planted against the corner bastion were pulled up into the Fort. Those which had been dropped in the plain remained there for some two days. The episode of the gun-wheel naves seems to have created some sensation, for on the 17th July our Intelligence people at Agra received a report from an agent who had passed through Farrukhabad shortly after the evacuation of the Fort. He said "many Sepoys who attempted to climb by ladders were killed by logs of wood cast on them."

Next day half-hearted attempts of a similar nature were repeated, growing gradually feebler and feebler, and the spirits of the defenders, whose casualties were trifling, rose in proportion. Information was also received that the Nawab's retainers, all Pathans, were taunting the Sepoys, who were mostly Hindus, with their lack of success. In spite of their regular failure, these almost constant attacks, or threats of attack, were depriving the garrison of their proper rest, which was so necessary in the weather conditions existing.

The Nawab now took a more active part in the seige. So far he or his officials had contented themselves with providing the Sitapur men with provisions, ammunition, ladders and anything else they might want in the way of material. He now called in the Pathans from the Kaimganj area, and thus excited a spirit of rivalry between the two parties.

The effect of these reinforcements was to cause a change in the methods of the enemy. Before attacking again the 41st N. I. occupied positions on the houses of Hussainpur, from which the bastions and the interior of the Fort were commanded. The range was so short that hardly one of the defenders escaped without two or more shots through his hat. To encourage the enemy to waste ammunition the garrison used to put hats on sticks, so that they just showed above the breastwork, and the trick worked very well until someone exposed the stick below the hat.

Another attack was then staged, with the cavalry and artillery in their old positions. Under cover of artillery fire, and musketry from the Hussainpur bazar, the Sepoys again advanced covering the ladder party, composed this time of Pathans, who picked up the ladders previously discarded and pressed on. Many of the Pathans were armed with swords only. With the assistance of from six to eight muskets a man the garrison kept up a steady fire at the advancing mass, and after some time the Pathans dropped their ladders and fell back out of range. The victory, temporary as it was, had been dearly bought, several of the defenders having been hit (including Mr. J. M. Jones, mortally wounded) while necessarily exposing themselves to the marksmen in Hussainpur, and a great deal of precious ammunition had been expended.

The attackers now gave up the fruitless and costly attacks which they had kept up for so long, and next morning the weary defenders realised that, except for musketry fire from the direction of Hussainpur, there was an ominous silence. Some thought that it was a sign that the siege would soon be raised, but most considered that something sinister was afoot. Occasional feints were made by the enemy, and the night alarms in particular became more frequent, but until the following day nothing was discovered of the enemy's new plans. At last it was seen that they had driven a mine from Hussainpur into the wood yard enclosure, and under cover of the great stacks of timber were starting a fresh mine under the main wall of the Fort. The dummy mine had done its work nobly till then, but it could not cope with men who came underground and swept away the train of "powder." To deal with this new

method of attack was extremely difficult. The parapet overlooking the yard was commanded at short range by the rifles in Hussainpur, and to look over to fire a shot was almost certain death. Ramrods were used to bore holes in the direction of the miners, and Conductor Ahern is mentioned in one account as being responsible for "a well directed discharge of grape" which "blew away a dozen men who were constructing a breast-work for their riflemen on a wood yard wall, which they had reached by a covered way." It is probable that it was on this occasion that he met his own death, as he must have had to expose himself entirely. But it was obvious that compared to the hordes available to take their place the casualties inflicted on the rebels were negligible. The inevitable and invaluable Captain Vibart volunteered to lead a midnight sortie against the miners, but any success gained would have been but temporary, and valuable lives would almost certainly have been lost; lives which there was no replacing, and which could certainly not be spared from the already sadly depleted garrison. Colonel Smith therefore forbade the enterprise. Someone else suggested setting fire to the wood yard, and the idea was put into practice with great success. Inside the Fort, just above the wood yard, stood a sentry box with a thatched roof. This was demolished, smeared with tar, lit, and thrown over the parapet into the yard. In half an hour the whole place was a roaring furnace, the flames rising high above the Fort walls and setting fire to the gun wheel naves used for heightening the parapet. The heat was so intense that it was with difficulty that the defenders of the bastion overlooking the yard could remain at their posts. The fire lasted for twenty-four hours, and was still smouldering when the Fort was evacuated. Several unfinished mines were exploded by the heat, and any doubts which the defenders may have had as to the purpose of the enemy were dispelled.

By this time, in addition to ammunition, food was getting short. During the respite which the quarrels among the mutineers had given them immediately after retiring into the Fort, the defenders had laid in as much food as possible from the Hussainpur bazar. Very high prices were demanded and paid, but the results were inadequate, in spite of the great exertions of Mallu and Sheoparshad. The garrison also managed to get a

little wine and beer into the Fort, probably the balance of individual officers' cellars. They had also bought some fifty or sixty sheep from Jaipal, a Sepoy of the 11th N. I., which was one of those which mutinied at Meerut. This man had been sent out from Meerut by the officers, to buy live sheep for what must have been a sort of mutton club, and on hearing that his regiment had mutinied he agreed to hand over what he had purchased to the officers of the 10th. He entered the Fort with his sheep, and remained throughout the siege, doing good service. When the Fort was evacuated he made good his escape, and nothing more is known of him. But the total amount of food secured was very little for the numbers occupying the Fort. Hanukh, an Indian Christian who had come into the Fort with his family, says that by this time many of them were subsisting on parched gram, and a more serious shortage was that of milk for the children.

Graver doubts as to the outlook began to oppress them all. Colonel Tucker, who had been appointed chief gunner at the beginning of the siege, had been shot by a Sepoy while watching the result of his last shot. Mr. J. M. Jones, the Indigo planter, had fallen in the same way twenty-four hours earlier, though he was not killed outright. He had, however, died by the time Colonel Tucker was killed, and they, with Conductor Ahern, who had been killed at about the same time, were all buried in one grave in the Fort Cemetery. There is a memorial slab over their grave, bearing the following inscription:—"Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel T. Tudor Tucker of the late 8th Bengal Light Cavalry; John Moore Jones, Esq., of the uncovenanted service; and Sub-Conductor John Ahern, Army Clothing Department, all of whom fell on the 28th and 29th of June 1857, whilst nobly defending the Fort of Fatehgarh against an overwhelming number of mutinous sepoys." This slab was erected by Government, and it is curious that it should contain the mistaken description of Mr. Jones. This gentleman was not, and never had been, in the uncovenanted service. He started life in India as a merchant in Calcutta: subsequently coming up country as an Indigo Planter. He was born on the 9th December 1818, and was thus in his 39th year when killed. His brother, Mr. Gavin Sibbald Jones, who

survived, was 21, having been born on the 22nd December 1835. Mr. T. Gavin Jones of Cawnpore, the son of Mr. Gavin S. Jones, and nephew of Mr. J. M. Jones, has kindly shown a photograph of the latter. He appears to be short and powerfully built. His face is square, and he wears whiskers which meet under his chin, but is otherwise clean shaven. This method of wearing the hair may be taken as typical of a great many Europeans in India at that period.

An earlier casualty had been the Judge, Mr. Thornhill, who had been accidentally wounded before the first assault. While loading his musket—probably an unaccustomed action—the weapon went off, and the ball went into the palm of his hand, ran up his forearm and emerged at his elbow. Colonel Goldie had been badly wounded in the hand during the first assault, and other casualties were Major Robertson, Captain Phillimore and Mr. Sutherland. Mention must be made, on the credit side, of the stout hearted Mrs. Ahern who, after her husband's death, took her place on the ramparts with a musket, and is said to have made good use of it.

The enemy now moved their two guns, one being placed opposite the gate, well out of musketry range, and the other at Isan Chandar Deb's house. From these two positions they were able to cause great inconvenience to the garrison. The house of the Gun-carriage Agent, in which were collected all the women and children, became a favourite mark for the rebel gunners, who tried, fortunately without success, to set fire to its thatched roof from Isan Chandar Deb's house. The fire on this point got so heavy that it became necessary to construct a covered way for the carriage of food. The fire of the other gun against the gate was ineffective, the gate having been strengthened with heavy timbers, though several holes were made and a hinge broken.

Although the first attempt at mining had been baffled by their coming into the open in the wood yard, the enemy were convinced of the practicability of this means of attack, and very soon were observed starting a fresh tunnel towards the corner bastion of the Fort, their workers being protected by bales of cotton and sheets of shot-proof iron

In the course of a night they had managed to lay a mine under the bastion. Just before dawn on the 1st July it was exploded. Mr. Gavin Jones gives the following vivid description of what followed :—

"My watch was next to the bastion at the angle. Shortly before the explosion I had retired under the shelter of a wagon to snatch a few minutes' sleep after the long night's duty, leaving a faithful bearer of my brother who had fallen the previous day at the look out, bidding him to rouse me if he noticed any movement of the enemy. All was then silent and, save for the rifles, as still as death. I had barely stretched myself on the ground when Bhairo rushing up to me, scarcely able to say more than 'Sahib, Sahib,' and excitedly pointing to the loophole, beckoned me to follow. I rushed forward, electrified by his terror-stricken gestures, and was in a second at the loophole. A small smouldering fire was all that was visible in the darkness. This appeared to get brighter and more lively every moment, and while I watched it intently, wondering what it could mean, a vivid flash and the thunder following stunned my senses and for the moment stupefied me. The situation, I felt, was a desperate one, and conscious of the consequences I grasped my double rifle and hastened to the breach to meet my desperate fate, for I resolved to die fighting rather than live to see a heartless massacre, which was inevitable now.

"The smoke and dust completely obscured the scene, and it was some minutes before I discovered figures silently moving in front of me, pushing up the three-pounder to cover the gap. A few words of enquiry were hastily exchanged, and the calm replies of Padre Fisher, from whom I learnt that the picket had escaped unharmed, calmed my worst fears, and I hastened back to my old position at the loophole which overlooked the breach. Nothing was yet visible in the darkness and dense clouds of dust and smoke that hung over the spot. Presently a sharp rattle of musketry from our picket at the corner bastion announced the approach of the storming party, and a few minutes after a dark moving mass, as thick as bees, and an occasional flash of a sword, became dimly visible in the ditch, advancing cautiously towards the breach. Immediately previous

to this discovery I had, to my regret, wasted some precious shots at the spades and tools lying scattered below, which I had mistaken for the enemy. Instantly the muzzle of my rifle was levelled at the compact mass within sixty yards of me, and I opened a steady fire from the muskets which stood ranged at hand, Bhairo reloading and handing them to me as fast as his practised hands could ply.

"The stormers were wedged in the deep ditch, which every minute seemed to get tighter packed by the men pushing forward from the rear. In this awkward position I could see them swaying and moving like a huge boiling cauldron. It was, however, too dark to see what damage I was inflicting, and the excitement was too great to waste time in observation, so I kept plying them with shot as fast as I could shoulder the muskets, changing about from right to left when one shoulder became too tender to bear the recoil. At this crisis I was joined by Mr. David Churcher, whom I allowed a momentary peep at the seething mass below so that he might realise the danger and necessity for instant help, and hastened him off to communicate with those who could be spared and return with assistance from the distant disengaged bastions with all haste. After the lapse of ten minutes he returned with two others, just in time to relieve me, for I was becoming faint with exhaustion and could no longer bear the recoil of the foul muskets. I resigned the loophole and threw myself on the ground to recover, and in a few minutes more heard with satisfaction that the enemy was retiring, leaving a goodly number of their dead and dying in the ditch below."

The defenders had gained another victory, but all felt it to be very hollow. Their numbers had by now been reduced by three Europeans and one native killed, and five or six more wounded. The attackers had lost far more heavily in mere numbers, but proportionately their losses were negligible, and all felt that a continuation of the mining operations must result in the final capture of the Fort. There was already one practicable breach, and if another were made it would be impossible to defend both, as several of the pensioners were too old and infirm to take any active part in the defence. Most of those who had been among

the fittest were feeling the dreadful strain imposed by prolonged exposure to the sun combined with an almost entire lack of sleep. An informant of Mr. Edwards, in hiding across the river, stated that "they were quite worn out by continual fighting. Their feet were so swollen with the fatigue of standing day and night at their posts that they resembled those of elephants, while their eyes were starting from their sockets for want of sleep." On the 1st July Colonel Smith sent out a letter imploring assistance from anyone whom the messenger could find. It was written in French, and countersigned by Mr. Thornhill, the Judge.

"Au magistrate de Mynpoorie, ou á un officier European attachè á une armèe de soldats Europeans. Nous avons ètè fortement assiegès dans le Fort de Futtehghur, par une force d'insurgents, pendant la derniére semaine et nous avons peu d'espoir de continuer le siege si nous n'avons du secours de suite. Nous sommes en tout 100 personnes: 32 hommes, et 72 femmes et enfants. Nous vous supplions de venir de suite á notre secours, nous sommes en rès grand danger. We are in great danger and plead for speedy help. We are more than 100– 32 men, 72 women and children, against 1000 insurgents. (Sd.) G. A. Smith, Colonel Commanding. July 1st."

It is difficult to understand why it should have been written in French. Had its bearer been captured and the letter found, the mere fact of it being in a European language would have ensured its confiscation, apart from the fact that the latter part repeated the gist in English. There was, however, a great fashion in letters in some foreign language during the Mutiny, many of them being written in Greek character. Colonel Smith's estimate of the enemy strength seems curiously low. Their actual strength was probably at least double his figure. This particular letter actually reached Agra, and Major Weller, R. E., offered to lead a small column to the relief of Fatehgarh. It was not possible to accept his offer, and in any case he could not have arrived in time.

At about noon on the day that the mine was exploded and the early morning assault delivered on the breach, a second assault on the same breach was attempted, this time by the Pathans, led by one Multan Khan.

It was believed at the time that this Multan Khan was the same man who had acted as escort to Mr. Edwards and the Donalds at Kaimganj and Shamsabad (see Chap. VIII), but Mr. Edwards states that this was subsequently disproved. The original Multan Khan was present at the actions at Patiali against Colonel Seaton (see Chap. IX) and Shamsabad against Brigadier Hope Grant (see Chap. XI) and was eventually captured, tried for rebellion, and sentenced to transportation for life beyond the seas. At Mr. Edwards' personal intervention this sentence was commuted to one of perpetual banishment in India, and he was afterwards under surveillance for life at Saugor.

The picket in the damaged bastion had just left their position to have their midday meal, leaving the Chaplain, Mr. Fisher, alone on watch. As he heard the voice of the leader encouraging the attackers he rose above the rampart, and levelling his double-barrel gun shot Multan Khan at almost point blank range. The sight of the death of their leader, and the memory of the slaughter of the early morning, was too much for the remainder, who turned tail and fled without firing a shot. It was fortunate that they did not realise the undefended state of the bastion at the moment. The remainder of the day passed quietly. The night was disturbed by the usual musketry fire, an occasional burst of artillery fire, and a continual sound of voices, which kept the garrison awake all night, expecting some new assault. Nothing happened, and the whole of the next day (the 2nd July) also passed without any demonstration on the part of the enemy. The garrison could not believe that the enemy was settling down to a passive blockade, but they could obtain no clue as to the nature of their next attempt, nor where it was to be made. That night solved the problem. As the men of Colonel Smith's picket lay down to rest on the ground in their post they distinctly heard the rebels mining underneath the bastion. Next morning the sounds were even more distinct, and men were seen carrying large supplies of powder, which confirmed the garrison's conjecture, if any confirmation were necessary.

Colonel Smith at once (the 3rd July) held a council of war to consider what could be done to save the situation. Counter-mining was out of the

question, on account of the small number of the defenders, and in any case could have had no permanent effect. The proposal was put forward to fortify the engine house and workshops, but was rejected at once as impracticable. There only remained the boats, and desperate as this alternative was it was the only one which appeared to provide the remotest chance of safety for the women and children, and was adopted when suggested by Mr. Gavin Jones.

To those who know the Fort it is a matter for amazement that thirty odd men could have held it for ten days against some 2,000 armed rebels, of whom at least half had been trained in the Company's army. Their success for so long can be attributed to several things. First of all there was the respite they had before the rebels made any attack at all, during which they were able materially to improve the bastions, and generally make preparations for a siege. Next must be placed their resourcefulness in using to the best advantage what means of defence they had, and in deceiving the enemy by the use of "dummies". All this, however, and the wonderful courage displayed by all when attacked, could have availed them little had it not been for the extraordinary methods employed by the attackers. It is to be supposed that they must have known the approximate numbers of the defenders, and a very slight calculation must have shown them how very inadequate those numbers were for the defence of the lengthy perimeter. Yet instead of attacking the Fort from all directions at once, a method which must have resulted in one column at least effecting an entrance, they confined themselves to one point at a time, and with no great determination at that.

Some of the defenders have been mentioned by name in the course of this narrative. Detailed records of the siege are practically non-existent. None of the soldier defenders escaped to give an account, and practically all the information available is contained in the description written by Mr. Gavin Jones. All did their best in the capacity which suited them best. Colonel Smith obtained a great reputation as a marksman, accounting for many of the enemy. Dhaukal Parshad, the Christian head master of the Mission High School, gave his attention to the medical side of the

defence, and Hanukh (Enoch), a Moghal convert who had been at Rakha, and had experience of hand to hand fighting when younger, was employed in one of the lightly held bastions. Mr. James, the Opium Agent, is mentioned in one account as a successful gunner.

The plight of the women and children, cooped up in the bungalow on the river bank, and with no activities to distract their attention from their desperate situation, was probably worse than that of the men. The children were the best off, as they realised nothing of what was going on around them, and continued their games as usual, even when round shot fell into the room in which they were playing. The state of mind of their mothers must be left to the imagination. In addition to their anxieties over the safety of the men on the walls they realised that the rebels, once they had planted their guns in Hussainpur and at Isar Chandar Deb's house, were making constant endeavours to destroy their shelter with round shot as well as burning balls of hemp and resin. The decision to leave by boat must have come as a blessed relief to them, small as were the chances of escape.

The following is the probable chronology of events during the siege of the Fort:—

June 25th—Attack on coolies working at Hussainpur.

„ *26th*—Bombardment and two ladder attacks.

„ *27th*—Desultory attacks.

„ *28th*—Pathans' ladder attack. Mr. J. M. Jones mortally wounded by musketry fire from Hussainpur.

„ *29th*—Wood yard entered by mining. Colonel Tucker and Conductor Ahern killed.

„ *30th*—Rebel guns moved to Hussainpur and Isan Chandar Deb's house. 1st mine on bastion noticed.

July 1st—1st mine on bastion exploded. Two assaults on breach.

„ *2nd*—Construction of 2nd mine on bastion heard at night.

„ *3rd*—Decision to evacuate Fort reached, and embarkation effected about midnight.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND BOAT JOURNEY.

(SEE MAP II.)

IN the story of his escape from Fatehgarh, which appeared originally in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Mr. Gavin Jones has given an account of his adventures up to a certain stage of the second flight by river to Cawnpore. The original must be read in order to enjoy the graphic details of what was an almost incredible deliverance from death, and to the liberality of T. Gavin Jones Esquire, of Cawnpore, the survivor's son, is due the existence of a copy in the library of the Officers' Mess at Fatehgarh. Mr. Gavin Jones was an Engineer engaged on construction work for the G. I. P. Railway. At the outbreak of the Mutiny he was staying on leave at Fatehgarh with his brother, who was an indigo planter residing on his plantation somewhere in the vicinity of the present Police Lines. Subsequent to the Mutiny he gave evidence on a great many occasions at the trials of the villagers and mutineers, who attacked the boats on the river, and related many details not to be found in his account. Supplementary information was given by the other survivor Mr. D. Churcher, the indigo planter; and a great mass of facts, relevant and otherwise, which nevertheless have interest as touching upon so historical an event, are recorded in abundance in the statements of dozens of witnesses from amongst the local inhabitants of that day. They afford a means by which to present a more accurate account of the second journey down the Ganges than was found possible in the case of the other in the preceding month.

At this distance of time it is not possible to say on what grounds the decision to make for Cawnpore was based. Mr. Probyn mentions in his report that when he returned to Dharampur on the 10th June it was known that mutiny had broken out at Cawnpore. This information was obtained on the previous day at Fatehgarh; and Colonel Smith and his

officers must equally have been cognizant of it. It is therefore surprising to find that when Mr. Gavin Jones suggested a way of escape to Cawnpore by the boats, the proposal was adopted at once, everyone hoping that Cawnpore was safe. It seems that between the 10th and the 17th June not a single effort had been made to get news of events at Cawnpore; although a metalled road connected that place with Fatehgarh, and the inhabitants of Kanauj, only thirty-five miles distant, were in daily touch with both places. Although, too, the Fort had not been closely invested on the river side, the simple matter of sending out spies in the direction of Agra was neglected or for some reason considered impracticable. Mr. Thornhill had, it is true, communicated with Mr. Probyn during the siege asking for assistance from Hardeo Bakhsh Singh; but this was the solitary instance. It is plain from Mr. Gavin Jones' words that no plan had been thought out at all; and after a discussion, which he describes as a brief one, the boat journey was definitely ordered and preparations for it made.

On the 16th and 17th June arrangements had been made by Colonel Goldie to collect all available boats; and no less than seventeen were eventually moored off the Hussainpur bazar, some of them with boatmen complete. In the confusion of the 18th all but four disappeared, and naturally these were the boats stationed at the Bishrant of Isan Chandar Deb within a stone's throw of the Fort walls, and best watched by the garrison. One of the four had been loaded with Colonel Goldie's baggage, and was stored with provisions and cooking utensils. Fourteen oarsmen and one boatman had been engaged for it alone; and Rs. 4/- advance of pay given to each. Shortly before the investment of the Fort, this boat was deserted by thirteen of the boatmen, who went off on pretence of getting ata from their homes, and the remaining two men were unable to prevent wandering sepoys and thieves from the adjacent bazar from emptying it of everything it contained. This misfortune was communicated to the garrison, who lost no time in securing the three nearest boats, and dragging them a hundred yards further into a recess in the bank, beneath the Fort walls. (See Map III.) Colonel Goldie's bearer, Sita Ram, was stationed there to look after them. The two solitary boatmen, doubly

precious by reason of their local knowledge, were also carefully guarded. One of the boats belonged to Bareilly; and its owner and his son would not leave it. They swelled the number of professional boatmen to four, a number which could give little help to the fugitives in managing these unwieldy craft among the sandbanks and channels of the river. This was a calamity, which led to the early destruction of half the party.

It was now midnight on the 3rd July. The sky was covered with scudding clouds, through which the moon at intervals emerged to assist the embarkation with its light. A drizzling rain was falling, which while it mitigated the close heat of the season, only served to depress the spirits of the members of the last expedition from Fatehgarh, setting forth in despondency, physically exhausted by the hardships of the siege, and encumbered by the presence of twenty-six ladies and forty-three children. Mr. Gavin Jones was much affected by the distress of the children who, closely confined in the narrow boats, were crying in fright, and scarcely to be comforted by their parents. Of the thirty-six men, excluding servants, many were no longer able bodied. Some, like Boscow, Roach, Best and Gibson, were aged pensioners long since retired from the Army, who had secured easy appointments at Fatehgarh in looking after roads and bridges. Mr. Thornhill, his arm shattered by a ball, could obviously be of small assistance; whilst Colonel Goldie, Major Robertson, Captain Phillimore and Mr. Sutherland, notwithstanding the slighter nature of their wounds, could not be depended upon for the prolonged exertion necessary for rowing these heavy river boats; although, as will be seen, they manfully did their part, when the fate of all depended on getting the boats through the shallows.

Colonel Smith told off the occupants of each boat. Provisions, ammunition, luggage and domestic servants were all on board by midnight; and each boat load of frightened children and ladies in bonnet and shawl, sat huddled together in the thatched cabins or under the decks to secure what cover they could from the momentary showers of rain, until the defenders on the walls could rejoin them. The scene is not difficult to imagine, and the point of embarkation can still be traced beneath the mud wall of the

Fort. It is only necessary to read Mr. Gavin Jones, and clothing the actors in the garments fashionable to that time, place them in three such vessels as go to make up the boat bridge at Ghatia Ghat to-day.

At 2 a. m. Colonel Goldie, his left hand swathed in bandages, stepped on to his boat, which was in the middle, and cried out to Khushali, the boatman, to "let go." The loud vigour of this command, awaking all the echoes, caused some alarm lest the departure should be noticed; but the boats were able to move out into the deep stream, and slip beyond the wall of the Fort, before the besiegers, crowding down to the water's edge by the Bishrant, opened fire upon them. The deep stream flowed beneath the high bank, which to-day is waste land, but in 1857 was packed with the mud houses of Hussainpur bazar. Loading as rapidly as they could, the sepoys were able to run along the bank and keep up a fusillade. It is wonderful, indeed, that there were no casualties to record. Mr. Gavin Jones, steering the last boat under the command of Major Robertson, lay stretched at full length on the deck. The three boats, with Colonel Smith in the smallest one ahead, pulled strenuously by their amateur oarsmen, passed beneath the high cliff of Hospital Ghat, and a few yards on by Rani Ghat, still overshadowed by the immense peepal tree, which even then was ancient. Beneath his old house, within a few yards of the Mess chabutra, Colonel Smith led the way in the darkness; until at a spot just beyond No. 9 bungalow he steered into a narrow "sot" or channel, which then ran diagonally across the island of Sundarpur towards the village of that name, and joined a second channel. The island was covered with tamarisk bushes and presents now practically the same appearance. The Ganges, however, has left the western or Fatehgarh side of the island, and now flows past Sundarpur on the east of it.

Owing to want of rain in the hills the river was low, and progress along the narrow channel across the island was obstructed by sand bars and shallows. An interesting little picture of the scene is given by Ram Dayal, Colonel Goldie's jemadar. Many had to wade in the water and push the boat over the sand, on which it constantly grounded, while the two boatmen, the jemadar, and Colonel Goldie himself in spite of his wounded hand, tugged at the long oars. Small wonder was it that only

after six hours did the expedition manage to reach Rasulpur, a quarter of a mile past Sundarpur village, and roughly opposite milestone eighty on the Cawnpore road.

It was now 8 o'clock, and the boats were secured to the right bank of the stream just a few yards from Rasulpur. The men and servants disembarked to prepare breakfast, and several hours from one cause or another were wasted, a delay which contributed not a little to the subsequent disaster in the afternoon. Breakfast was in progress when the first interruption came.

A freebooting zamindar named Mangal Singh with a band of fifty men had come to Sundarpur four days before, probably with the intention of committing dacoity at Fatehgarh. It was not long before he became aware of the boats, which indeed had passed within sight of the village. Accompanied by several hundred of the villagers, armed with matchlocks, swords and shields, Mangal Singh walked straight up to the party, and asked who they were, and from where they had come. Mr. Churcher deposes that answer was made to the effect they were a reinforcement from Cawnpore on their way to help the Sahibs in the Fort. On hearing this ingenious tale Mangal Singh laughed, and asked for ransom, which was promptly refused. The villagers retired slowly some hundred and fifty yards, and stood talking vehemently behind a newly built boat, which lay half in the water, half on the sandy shore. Suddenly, numbers of them opened a wildly directed fire from their matchlocks upon the unsuspicious party, still having their breakfast in the boats. Colonel Smith ordered officers from each boat to form up with fixed bayonets on their muskets and charge. This was brilliantly carried out. Major Munro, Captain Vibart, Lieutenant Swetenham, Ensigns Eckford and Henderson advanced in line firing as they marched. Mangal Singh was hit in the right hand, his nephew killed outright and two others of his men wounded. The villagers fled in panic, and in a few moments the whole shore was deserted. After the reoccupation of Fatehgarh nine of the leading assailants were arrested, and transported to Burmah for life. Mangal Singh, however, was acquitted by the Agra High Court, no one being willing to give straightforward evidence against him.

A very inexplicable delay took place after breakfast; and it must be confessed from a reading of the records that most of the fugitives, heartened by the success of this gallant bayonet charge, appear to have recovered their spirits, and were rather light hearted. A serious matter was debated between Mr. Thornhill and Colonels Goldie and Smith. It seems to have been decided that further progress was impossible without boatmen. Khushali was called up from Colonel Goldie's boat, and asked if he could get men from his village Naukhanda, which lay over on the western Fatehgarh bank, a mile ahead. Mr. Thornhill handed him Rs. 15, and Khushali departed. It afterwards transpired, that he only reached his village at 2 p. m. that day, to find it filled with sepoys, who had naturally hastened along the western bank of the river in the hope of overtaking the fugitives. It is hard to believe that the leaders of the expedition could have seriously thought they would not be followed, and that Khushali would be allowed to bring them boatmen. They waited two hours, a wholly inadequate time for Khushali to cross two river channels and the main stream, not to speak of a mile or more of sand in between, and then return with his boatmen. At the enquiry after the Mutiny Khushali was fully exonerated.

At 11 a. m. it began to dawn on the party that no further delay could be permitted. They had already stayed three hours at Sundarpur, and preparation was made to resume the voyage without Khushali. It was then found that the other boatman of Colonel Goldie's boat had vanished. This was a disaster of the greatest magnitude, for without river experience it was impossible to make any speed, and now two boats were entirely without local assistance. It is obvious that the fugitives should have at once abandoned either Colonel Goldie's or Major Robertson's boat, for preference Colonel Goldie's boat, since it was the larger; but another calamitous error was made. All three boats, heavily laden as they were with luggage and servants, like syces and ayahs, who gave no help, were pushed forward for two miles from Sundarpur, literally by sheer strength of arm. At Santokpur nearly opposite Bhojpur they stopped. The men could do no more, their strength being exhausted and hands blistered by this toil. The boats were brought to by the bank of the

island, as the other shore of the channel was being overrun by bands of villagers, eager for plunder, and from time to time sniping at the boats with their long matchlocks. All disembarked for a rest, and the servants were actually permitted to start cooking food. A re-arrangement of the party was made; for everyone could see now that Colonel Goldie's boat could not go on, and it must be abandoned with its luggage and other contents. For the first time it is possible to state with accuracy, who sat in each boat, Colonel Goldie's party being transferred to Colonel Smith's light boat. The loads were as nearly as possible equal, Colonel Smith's boat having unavoidably the bulk of the children, who could not naturally be separated from their mothers.

The light boat contained Colonel and Mrs. Smith: Colonel Goldie and his three grown up daughters: Mrs. Tucker and three children: Humphreys, man servant of the Tucker family: Conductor Rohan, Mrs. Rohan and nine children: Doctor and Mrs. Maltby: Sergeant Roach, Mrs. Roach and two children: Mrs. Ahern: Mr. E. James: Doctor Heathcote, Mrs. Heathcote and two children: Mr. Lowis, Mrs. Lowis and three children: Miss Nancy Lang: Mr. Thornhill, Mrs. Thornhill and two children: Sergeant Best, Mrs. Best and three children: Mr. Gibson, Mrs. Gibson and two children: Mr. and Mrs. Boscow: Miss Sturt: Major Munro: Captains Phillimore and Vibart: Lieutenant Swetenham: Ensigns Henderson and Byrne: the two Donalds: and Wrixon (Senior). Altogether this boat, a much smaller one in size than the other, was crowded with sixty-four passengers, and had two boatmen to work it. The numbers were too large for comfort, and when Mr. Gavin Jones ultimately reached it, there was not enough room for him to lie down.

Major Robertson's boat had forty-four persons on board. Major Robertson, Mrs. Robertson and one child: Miss Thomson: Mr. Gavin Jones: Mr. D. Churcher: Mr. T. Churcher: Mr. Sutherland, Mrs. Sutherland and three children: Sergeant Redman, Mrs. Redman and two children: Mr. Anderson: Rev. Mr. Fisher, Mrs. Fisher and one child: Mrs. J. M. Jones and one child: Captain Phillott: Lieutenant Simpson and Ensign Eckford: Lieutenant Fitzgerald, Mrs. Fitzgerald

and child: Mr. Jons, Mrs. Jons and four children: Mr. Jim, (son-in-law of Mr. Jons): Wrixon (Junior): Dhaukal Parshad, Rebecca his wife and four children: Kale Khan, sepoy: Bhairo, bearer of Mr. Jones. There were no boatmen.

A number of servants could not be taken on. They were left in Colonel Goldie's boat with a great many boxes and bundles, containing the personal effects of those who had been in it. Hanukh, a Christian convert, who had fought well in the Fort, his wife Clara and four children: Wafatan, Mr. Lowis' ayah: Mr. Thornhill's ayah and khitmagar named Chunni: Rajab, another servant of Mr. Lowis: Hari Shankar, servant, and a syce of Mr. Jones: Ram Dayal, Colonel Goldie's jemadar; Nand Ram and Shaffi, also servants of Colonel Goldie.

In sharp contrast with the dilatory proceedings of Colonel Smith's party, the rebels had lost no time: Immediately on discovering the flight of the garrison from the Fort, word was sent to Subadar Ganga Singh, the senior officer of the 10th Oudh Irregulars (the Ghalla Regiment) who was then with the Nawab in the City in his capacity as dictator, and commencing a black career which ultimately brought him to the gallows. At his command two companies of his own regiment and the 41st set forth in pursuit by following the Cawnpore road down to Bhojpur. They took one gun with them, and by midday had it planted on the Qadam Rasul at Bhojpur, from which place a good stretch of the river could be commanded. Meanwhile another body of mutineers had made their way along the river bank, and reached Naukhanda village, which is very nearly opposite the place on the Santokpur island, where the change from Colonel Goldie's boat was being made. The fugitives were clearly visible to the gunners at Bhojpur. The reports of the gun and the arrival of several round shot, which however fell much short of them, the range being over a mile, threw the party into a panic. Mr. Thornhill, too, had watched Naukhanda village through his telescope; and the news that a large party of sepoys could be seen launching two boats from underneath the village impelled them to hasten. Crowds of villagers also were gathering on the island, and becoming bolder. Both boats cast off, and were soon under

way close to the eastern bank, Colonel Smith leading by one hundred and fifty yards.

The servants in the abandoned boat were surrounded by a horde of villagers intent on plunder. Ram Dayal and Shaffi, described as the brother of a coachman, threw themselves into the water. Shaffi was drowned. Ram Dayal, a strong swimmer, reached the shore and escaped. Hanukh, a resolute man, dragging his wife Clara and four children along with him, charged through the crowd and providentially reached a small boat, in which they were able to cross the water and reach the shelter of a friendly village. The subsequent adventures of Hanukh would fill a volume in itself; but it is sufficient to say here that he and his family reached Allahabad, where as Risaldar he commanded the "Christian Troop" of the new mounted Police at that place. His name Hanukh is the vernacular version of Enoch.

The two ayahs and the other servants remained sitting in the boat. They were not molested, and after three days' detention in Naukhanda village were set at liberty. The boat itself was emptied by the Santokpur villagers. Search, after the Mutiny was over, did not bring any of the stolen property to light; for the villagers, terrified of being implicated in the massacre at Manpur, threw every article of European origin into the Ganges.

The arrival of the sepoys in Naukhanda turned the heads of the population, composed chiefly of river boatmen engaged in transporting grain to Cawnpore. Two boats filled with grain, which were ready to go down stream, lay moored to the shore by the village that day. An eager crowd of boatmen, excited by these unwonted events, threw out the grain, and crowding into the boats with the sepoys crossed over to the opposite shore to follow the fugitives by land; for Colonel Smith was closely hugging the eastern bank of the river to avoid offering a target to the gun at Bhojpur, which continued to fire round shot at him. As the sepoys ran along the bank they roused the villagers of Bhusera, and ordered them to follow. In this manner, a large crowd of many hundred persons gathered outside the village, and following the toiling boats kept up a long range fire, more noisy than hurtful, from their matchlocks.

The boats were in difficulties. It was now close on three o'clock of the afternoon. The sky had clouded over, and a high wind blew stiffly against them, rendering ineffectual all efforts to proceed quickly. The water was rough, and a storm seemed to be brewing. Colonel Smith's boat was well ahead by several hundred yards, and was keeping more to the centre of the stream. It had only one boatman now. The other, who was the boatman's son, had just been killed by a stray shot from the bank. One experienced boatman would have saved Major Robertson. Labouring in the rough water, his boat kept too much to the shore and became unmanageable. On the borders of Bhusera and Manpur the main stream bends around the island of Manpur. Colonel Smith was safely round the bend and out of sight, when the other boat ran firmly aground in the shallow water, twenty feet from the shore of the island. Up to this point scarcely two miles had been covered in as many hours from the last halting place at Santokpur.

There seems to have been no particular alarm; and Mr. Gavin Jones says no one realised the crisis was at hand. No attention was paid to the yelling villagers only a few yards distant. Every man took off the clothes which hampered him, and jumped over the side to push on the boat into deeper water. They were thus engaged for more than half an hour, when two boats were noticed approaching. There was nothing suspicious about their outward appearance, though both were actually packed with the sepoys from Naukhanda, who after landing on the bank and finding they could not keep up, embarked again on their boats and followed Major Robertson by water. Without warning the seemingly empty boats suddenly disclosed a crowd of riflemen, who poured in a volley at twenty yards range. One boat, dragged by numbers of the Naukhanda boatmen, was thrust in between Major Robertson and the shore and laid alongside. The other boat remained floating in midstream, its occupants keeping up a continual fire upon the fugitives.

Mr. T. Churcher was shot through the chest and fell dead on the deck. Among those who stood in the water by the boat's sides, Mr. Sutherland was killed outright. Mr. Fisher, standing behind Mr. Gavin

Jones, was shot through the middle of the left thigh. Hearing him call out, Mr. Gavin Jones turned round, and was himself hit by a ball, which ploughed a furrow along his right shoulder. The ladies, who were sitting on the deck, did not escape. Mrs. Sutherland was severely wounded in the back, a ball perforating it from side to side. Mrs. Jones was hit in the right side, and her child's arm broken by the same bullet. On the other side of the boat, towards the deep stream, Major Phillott, Lieutenant Simpson and Ensign Eckford fell mortally wounded as they stood one behind the other. Lieutenant Fitzgerald, his wife and child clinging to him, knelt bewildered in the bow of the boat, his musket with the bayonet fixed gripped in one hand. Major Robertson, staggering in the water with a shattered hip, cried out for all to jump into the water. Everyone who could did so without hesitation; but the water was deep, swirling by in a rushing torrent, and stirred into waves by a tempest of wind. There was little hope of escape for the ladies and their children, and none at all for those badly wounded. In a few moments the little band was broken up for ever. The Fitzgeralds disappeared in the stream. Mrs. Robertson was washed out of her husband's arms, and there was barely time for him to wade into deep water with the child on his shoulder. Miss Thomson, losing her footing on the shifting sand, was swept off like the Fitzgeralds. Mr. Fisher, despite his bleeding wound, stood a few yards from the boat, fighting desperately to save his family. He held the lifeless body of his child, and strove to support his wife, whose dress, billowing out like a sail through the force of the waves, knocked her down again and again, until her exhausted husband saw her torn from his grasp. Wrixon, the bandsman, the Jons family and the Redmans, were killed on the boat before they could summon courage to jump into the river. The majority were undoubtedly drowned; for the assailants were intent on plundering the boat first, and killed those only who got in their way. Mr. Gavin Jones has depicted the final scene, " the little groups formed in the lee of the boat ", struggling breast deep in the water until they were shot down or swept away by the current. Twenty-seven out of the little band of forty-four perished in a few minutes. Some there were who escaped. Mr. Fisher, the Chaplain, after seeing his wife and son drowned before

his eyes, struggled to the bank. Mr. Gavin Jones, supported by a gourd, swam down stream for eight miles, until he caught up with Colonel Smith's boat. Mr. David Churcher, resting on an oar, swam also to an island down stream, assisting Major Robertson, who was a stout man and unable to swim. Kale Khan, the sepoy, swam across the river, only to be overtaken by a boat and captured. Bhairo, Mrs. Jones' bearer, got safely ashore; and seven were taken captive by the sepoys. Mrs. Sutherland, her daughter and son, Mrs. Jones, her child and mother, a child of Conductor Jons, Dhaukal Pershad, his wife and four children, were taken ashore at Singhirampur and to their number was then added Kale Khan. For them there was but a short reprieve of scarcely three weeks. Major Robertson died of his wounds later; Mr. Fisher was killed at Cawnpore; and even the faithful Bhairo succumbed to cholera before the year was out. Of all those who set forth with Major Robertson from the Fort, only Mr. Gavin Jones and Mr. David Churcher escaped eventually with their lives.

This tragedy was known officially as the Manpur Massacre, and a long and patient investigation was carried out for ten years after the Mutiny. The boatmen of Naukhanda, the inhabitants of Bhusera, and those of Bhojpur, absconded on the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell's force in January 1858. Search for them continued for ten years; and almost every year up to 1868 trials of the leaders known to have participated in this attack on Major Robertson were conducted in the Fatehgarh Sessions Court. In 1863 nine persons of Bhusera, including the village chokidar, were transported for life. The evidence in these trials disclosed that two villagers had been killed outright and one wounded. Although neither Mr. Gavin Jones nor Mr Churcher mentions it, there was evidently some resistance offered by the fugitives. Three other villagers, proved to have taken a leading part in the massacre, were hanged.

Four ringleaders from Naukhanda were transported for life, plunder being found in their houses. One was an old Jail guard, who managed to hide his identity for ten years. Seven boatmen, who acted under compulsion, were acquitted. The bad characters of practically every

village on the western bank up to Bhojpur put off in boats and arrived at Manpur Katri sooner or later to fight and wrangle over the booty. Five corpses, two of men and three of ladies, were found lying in the boat. The Bhojpur men, hoping for reward from the Nawab, decapitated them, and took the five heads in a basket to display in the City. Many of the bystanders recognised the heads of Mr. T. Churcher and Mr. Sutherland. The other three were of members of the Jons family.

Major Robertson's boat was filled with luggage. The unlucky fugitives handicapped themselves in the most rash manner by taking with them not only an excessive number of servants but a mass of personal effects, which could only have increased the weight of the boat, and contributed to the difficulty of managing it. No less than four camel loads of plunder were sent off to the mutineers' camp from Naukhanda. A local zamindar named Pahlwan Singh, whose servant, Misri Lal, was killed by a shot from the boat, took away three large chests to his house at Bahoria. One chest was filled with china and crockery of all things! One contained rupees and sovereigns, and the other jewellery and silver plate. It took two goldsmiths four days to melt down the plate. It seems incredible that the fugitives, knowing the river to be low and the boats heavy, should have deliberately overloaded themselves with boxes and other luggage to an extent which could only jeopardise their chances of escape. It will be remembered that the first expedition did exactly the same, though they had more excuse, being ignorant of any possible danger at Cawnpore.

The Bhojpur Mohamedans behaved particularly badly, and boarded Major Robertson's boat, murdering several persons whom they found in it. One family of three brothers took a prominent part; and it was they who decapitated the corpses. One was hanged, and a second transported for life very shortly after the re-occupation of the district. The third fled to Gwalior and enlisted in the State Cavalry. He was recognised in 1866, sent to Fatehgarh and also transported for life. In 1860, another Bhojpur man, wanted for complicity in these murders was found serving in the Commissariat at Lucknow in the capacity of a peon. He

was transported along with a friend of his, who had also been convicted, but in trying to escape, while marching across the Allahabad District, was shot dead by the escort. Turab Ali of Bhojpur was rewarded by the Nawab with a command of two hundred men for his share in the murders at Manpur. In 1858 he disappeared, and although the authorities offered a reward of Rs. 200/- for his arrest, he evaded notice by changing his name and growing a beard. Sixteen years afterwards Nemesis overtook him. He was found in Agra serving as a clerk in the Inland Customs Department; and on being put on his trial at Fatehgarh was confronted by the damning testimony of all the inhabitants of Bhojpur, who were now thoroughly repentant. He was transported for life.

Six persons with seven children were spared their lives at Manpur. Conveyed in a boat from the scene of the massacre, they were taken to Singhirampur, a large village on a headland, overlooking the Ganges two miles down stream.

The village was swarming with sepoys. The gun had been moved here from Bhojpur by the aid of bullocks. Ghulam Ali Khan, the rebel Kotwal of Farrukhabad City, who had organised the pursuit up to Singhirampur, placed two companies of the 41st, two of the 10th Ghalla Regiment, and a second gun in position there. He was in time to anticipate Colonel Smith's boat, into which volleys of musketry were poured as it passed beneath the cliff, the two guns discharging grape and round shot as fast as they could be served. The rudder was smashed. The sole remaining boatman, who lost his son earlier in the day, was killed and also three Europeans, Conductor Rohan, one of his children and the youngest Miss Goldie. Doctor Maltby, the Civil Surgeon, was hit and Lieutenant Swetenham severely wounded in the back. Colonel Smith was heard to say that "never in his life had he passed through such a hail of grape". Considering the closeness of the sepoys and their numbers, Colonel Smith's party was lucky to get off so lightly. Notwithstanding the loss of the rudder, the head of the boat was kept to the stream; and for six miles progress was maintained, until the boat ran aground on a sandbank at about 9 p. m. in the evening.

Ghulam Ali Khan ordered an instant return to Farrukhabad and the sepoys prepared to march, leading the Manpur prisoners with them. The route they took was through Kamalganj along the Cawnpore road up to the present District Jail. It was a march of fourteen miles, and, with the exception of a brief halt at Kamalganj, the sepoys pressed on, forcing the captives to walk in the sweltering heat. Mrs. Sutherland, Mrs. Jones and her child, being all three wounded, were carried on a charpoy. Mrs. Sutherland by reason of her wound had to lie at full length, which caused several witnesses to state that a corpse was placed on the charpoy with Mrs. Jones. The latter was no less severely wounded. The bullet penetrated low on the right side, skirted the liver and emerged from her stomach. It is a matter for wonder that she was able to survive the march. Two heads were also carried by the sepoys for presentation to the Nawab. Ghulam Ali Khan acted with some harshness in forcing the children to walk; and it was remembered at his trial on the 6th November 1858 that he allowed Ali Jan, a sepoy of the 41st, to take Miss Sutherland apart from the party and bring her to the City long after. Ghulam Ali Khan was hanged, and all his property confiscated to the State.

The party were brought through the Fatehgarh bazar at 8 a. m., and conducted across the Parade Ground to the camp of the 41st in Shisham Bagh, near the present Church. They were kept waiting here for two hours, and then marched in the same manner to the Nawab's Fort in Farrukhabad City, which they reached at 11 a. m. on the 5th July. There in confinement they stayed until, eighteen days later, for the last time they retraced their way to the Parade Ground to meet a cruel death. These facts were disclosed by the witnesses against Ghulam Ali Khan, and there is no authority for adding more. In a book on the life of the well known American Missionary, Dr. Fullerton, there is an account of Dhaukal Parshad, the Headmaster of the Mission High School, which contains much that is fanciful and incorrect. It cannot be taken as good evidence, and nothing but the bare outline of the march from Singhirampur is known, for there were no survivors afterwards.

Return must now be made to the adventures of Mr. David Churcher, as related by himself shortly after the Mutiny. His mind appears to have

been much affected by the hardships which he endured, and in after life he was unable to recollect anything with accuracy. He and his brother had been flourishing indigo planters up to 1857, and it is to be regretted that his last years were passed in considerable poverty.

At the time of the sudden attack by the sepoys, Mr. Churcher was standing in the water with only a towel wrapped round his waist and a pith hat on his head, helping with the others to push the boat over the sand. Major Robertson, near him, was clad only in a pair of trousers. The reason for this state of undress was that all the men had been constantly in the water, and since the time they left the Fort had been wading and pushing the boat in the fierce July sun. They had no change of clothes; and when the moment came to go over the side, they were forced to strip off as many garments as possible. Mr. Gavin Jones, it will be seen later, was in the same condition and naked to the waist.

Mr. Churcher saw his brother pitch forward dead and the massacre begin. He launched himself into the main river and swam down stream, grasping an oar, which had come in his way. He overtook Major Robertson, whom Kale Khan was supporting on a bamboo. Kale Khan swam towards land. Mr. Churcher, however, fortunately decided to keep on down stream. After eight hours of floating Major Robertson and he reached an island opposite the village of Karhar on the right bank, and about midnight in pouring rain lay down on the ground exhausted. Major Robertson especially was in great pain, his thigh bone having been shattered at the hip joint. In the morning they were found by a sepoy of the 4th N. I. and a few villagers, and conducted to Lalju Singh, the lambardar of Karhar, who kept them in hiding, despite a price of Rs. 500 having been put on their heads by the Nawab of Farrukhabad. For greater security Major Robertson was removed to Baramau village near by. Weakened by his wound and a severe attack of dysentery Major Robertson could not move to accompany the Probyns, only six miles away, on their journey to Cawnpore. Every time his wound was dressed he fainted. It seems likely too that he and Mr. Churcher were dissuaded by a servant of the latter, who had found them out and was very

pessimistic as to any chance of reaching Cawnpore. At any rate the two remained together. Major Robertson at length died on September 17th and was buried by Mr. Churcher at Baramau, where his grave is still maintained by Government. Mr. Churcher remarks in his report that he was broken hearted, and death was a merciful release. Mr. Churcher's subsequent existence was alternately hiding in the village or in the sugar cane, until Fatehgarh was re-occupied. An old servant named Chunni Lal found him out and supplied him with money and clothes, and towards the end he was more comfortable. In spite of all his hardships he did not suffer from a day's illness. His mind, however, appears to have been much weakened by the strain. In after years he was wont to recollect that Major Robertson and he lost their hats, and to escape sunstroke both were forced to plaster their heads with a thick layer of mud, which successfully resisted the rays of the sun.

Mr. E. J. Churcher, it will be remembered, had proceeded on an adventurous ride across Etah District to help his parents. He escorted them to Agra Fort, and after reducing Etah into some semblance of order for its Civil Officials, who preferred to remain at Agra and encourage him from a distance, he hastened to Fatehgarh with Colonel Seaton's column, anxious for news of his brothers. With the exception of two rooms he found the house in ruins, and from two old servants he learnt that Thomas had fallen, and David was still across the river. He started for Karhar, and saw his brother sitting on the ground with his back to a wall, and wrapped in a black blanket. After months of privation and exposure David Churcher was unrecognisable. His long hair and beard, a skin burnt by the sun's rays, his scared and vacant looks, remained imprinted on his brother's memory for fifty years. He was carried to the ruined home, where the two rooms had been made habitable, and nursed back to health. David Churcher was never the same man again. Twice he had suffered from sunstroke, and to the day of his death his mind remained affected. After the establishment of order he took up his old occupation of indigo planting, and bought the property which adjoins the Collector's House to the South. There he died on the 18th February, 1908, and was buried with full military honours in the new Cemetery at

Colonelganj. He desired his Bible and the little towel, which he wore on the day of the massacre at Manpur Katri, to be buried with him. His house he had some time before transferred to the faithful Chunni Lal as a token of his gratitude.

Mr. Gavin Jones' escape was no less wonderful, and has been related at length in his book. He too was in the water, applying his shoulder to the boat, when the first volley of the pursuers took the party by surprise. Seeing one boat of the rebels draw up alongside, the men standing in the water called to the ladies to follow. On Mr. Churcher's authority it was Major Robertson who did this; but it is more likely that in the panic of the moment all aided the ladies and children to get out. Being unarmed like the others, who had naturally left their weapons in the boat, and wounded in the right shoulder he felt helpless at first; and not until he saw Bhairo, his brother's bearer, get out of the boat carrying the child and followed by his sister-in-law severely wounded, was he roused to action. He sprang into the boat to seize a rifle. The sepoys had already boarded the boat at the stern. He came upon Captain Fitzgerald with his family in the bows, and begged for the musket he was holding. Captain Fitzgerald was too occupied with his family to attend to him, and turning round he was just in time to seize one from young Wrixon, who was emerging from beneath the bottom boards. Rushing astern, where the sepoys were looking, he shot one, and seeing it useless to continue, picked up a gourd and sprang overboard. Swimming hard downstream, and resting on the gourd, he passed Singhirampur in the darkness, and at 9 p.m. was able to come up with Colonel Smith's boat, which was aground. Major Munro lifted him into the boat, and cautioned him to say nothing of the massacre to the ladies; for they too had been visited by disaster.

Young James, the Opium Officer, gave him a drink of porter and a mattress, upon which he fell into a deep sleep, only to be aroused by the heavy splash in the water, made by Conductor Rohan's body, which was here consigned to the Ganges.

Most of the night the boat, drenched by drizzling rain, stayed immoveable. The river was rising, however, and before dawn the boat

had drifted four miles. The rudder was repaired; and a small sail made out of two blankets was rigged up. Before sail was set, a voice hailed the boat from the bank. It proved to be Mr. Fisher who, with a hole through his right thigh, had nevertheless walked, swam and waded with iron resolution throughout the whole night to overtake the boat. He was in a dreadful condition, more dead than alive, and demented at the loss of his wife and son.

The voyage was continued. The storm clearing the air had cooled it; and the fugitives noticed the stillness, and how the parched fields had altered. It was the first day of quiet for a fortnight. The water, too, was placid; and the boat glided slowly along until the lofty cliffs of Kusamkhor were seen by the afternoon light. Every effort was made to avoid this ill-omened spot. The main stream was abandoned, and the boat steered up a channel along the Oudh bank, on which a large group of villagers could be seen standing. To avoid them, the boat was kept to the opposite side of the channel, only to run on a sand bank in front of the watchers. To the surprise of all these men were friendly. As the Kusamkhor villagers were preparing to cross the main channel and get on to the island close by the boat, four Thakurs plunged into the water and came over to the boat, helping to move it against the current to the shore. Food and milk were brought, and Colonel Smith arranged with Balgobind, the headman, to engage a crew and a guard up to Cawnpore. Rs. 2,200 was fixed as payment for six boatmen and ten matchlock men to act as escort. It was decided, too, to stop for the night by this village, which was called Tehra.

Mr. Gavin Jones it must be remembered, was naked to the waist. Besides suffering pain from his wound in the right shoulder, his back was badly inflamed and blistered. In spite of a dressing of sweet oil applied by Mrs. Lowis he could get no rest, and could not find a vacant spot on the boat, which, though normally hardly big enough to accomodate twenty persons, was now packed to overflowing by no less than sixty-four. It struck him that a charpoy could be obtained in the village near by, and it would be better to stay there for the night. He tried in

vain to get Lieutenant Swetenham to accompany him; but that officer, unfortunately for himself could not get up by reason of his wound, and he had to land alone. A Thakur named Bhabuti Singh then showed him to the village and gave him shelter in his hut.

About midnight the inhabitants of Chauchpur became hostile. They had come up from this village about 5 p. m. and demanded a share of the money paid to the Tehra men by Colonel Smith. They appear to have been bad characters. Fearing for the safety of the party Colonel Smith with three boatmen shoved the boat off. He had twice sent word to Mr Gavin Jones in the village who stiff and ill could not obey the summons. He was left behind, a calamity at the moment which afterwards turned out to be his salvation. He was better treated than was Mr. Churcher. He suffered mostly from his wound during his enforced stay in the village. It had become septic and the only remedy he could devise was to induce a small puppy to lick the wound morning and evening, until it healed. At the beginning of August he was able to join the Probyns at Khassura and with them reached Cawnpore in safety. For his services during the Mutiny he was mentioned in the Governor-General's despatches, and awarded a commission in the Army, which he characteristically transferred to a younger brother in England.

The next four days are blank in the history of the expedition. Not a detail is known. The overcrowded boat pursued its way under sail no doubt when there was a breeze, or else rowed by the men and their three boatmen. Even the events of the 9th July are obscure. Sometime that day during the afternoon the unfortunate party came level with the Shukul Deo Ghat at Bithur, the Nana's headquarters, twelve miles north of Cawnpore. News of their coming must have reached the Nana's followers ahead of them; for no sooner did the little boat appear, hugging the Oudh side of the river opposite Bithur, than a battery at the Shukul Deo Ghat opened a heavy fire of round shot at it. Opposite the battery was Fatehpur Chaurasi, the home of the rebel zamindar Jassua Singh. His men crowded the bank, and rained bullets on the boat. The fugitives replied as best they could. Suddenly a flag of truce was waved from the boat, and the firing ceased. No reasons for

the quick surrender will ever be known. This much, however, has been recorded, that Major Munro, while steering the boat, was killed by one of the round shot from the battery, and Mr. Lowis, the Joint Magistrate, drowned. The party was now reduced to sixty-one.

Jassua Singh's men towed the boat to Shukul Deo Ghat. All were made to get out. It was raining hard. In four carts covered with thatch they were conducted to the palace of the Rao, the Nana's nephew, who was in charge at Bithur. It was 9 p. m. and pitch dark. They were formed up in a line, and inspected by the Rao. For the night they were confined in the old Residency, their property being taken from the boat and sent to the palace.

On the 10th July in the morning the fugitives were given food. Guarded by sepoys they were conveyed in carts to Cawnpore, and at three o'clock that afternoon a second procession of Fatehgarh residents passed up the high steps of the Savada Kothi to the same rooms, in which their fellow residents had spent their last day only a month before. There was little time left. The women and children were ordered into a room and the men kept outside. The sepoy urrounded them, and sadly one must think no last farewell was given to their families within the house. Some of the Sahibs, an eye-witness testified afterwards, told the sepoys who they were and asked them to give their names and salaams to the Nana in his tent within sight. The sepoys returned, and picking out Colonels Smith and Goldie and Mr. Thornhill the Judge, sent them into the house. As for the rest, they said, their orders were to kill them.

At 4 p. m., close to the western door, seventeen of the little Fatehgarh garrison, in tattered garments, haggard and unkempt after seven days exposure on the river, were lined up with their backs to the high plinth, on which the house stands. There stood, all three badly wounded, Doctor Maltby, Mr. Fisher and Lieutenant Swetenham; Sergeants Roach, Best, Gibson and Boscow, old soldiers long past their prime; young James, the Opium Officer; the two Donalds, father and son, now at the end of their long Odyssey from Budaun; Doctor Heathcote; Wrixon, the bandsman; Captain Phillimore, wounded too and rejoicing that his wife

was safe; young Henderson, Adjutant of the 10th, who trusted his men; Ensign Byrne, newly joined; Humphreys, the faithful servant of Colonel Tucker; and lastly Captain Vibart, who more than any had striven manfully to uphold the flag at Fatehgarh. A volley announced their passing to the prisoners within the house above, those who still breathed being finished off by the swords of the executioners. The pockets of the dead were emptied. It is said that many had secreted their little store of gold in their shoes. Next day their bodies were loaded into carts and taken to the Ganges. The three who were spared for the moment were made to promise they would secure the evacuation of the Allahabad Fort, and however impossible of execution such a promise could be, they must have grasped at the chance and temporised. It will be seen at the end how near they were to safety.

There was no Hingun to tell of the agony of the survivors, who knew only too well of the tragedy outside; and for what follows there is merely the testimony of Cawnpore witnesses, who are suspect. The same day, perhaps almost at once, they were transported to the Bibighar. The House of Massacre, as it was called afterwards, was a small building of one storey, north of the Canal, comprising two chief rooms, twenty feet by ten feet, some windowless servants' quarters, and in the middle a courtyard fifteen yards square with a small tree in it. One hundred and sixty-three survivors of the Cawnpore garrison, with two exceptions women and children, were already crowded into this small enclosure. Here they lived without furniture of any description, sleeping on the ground, and kept alive each day by one sparse meal of dal and chapatties. All were in a condition of great destitution, and to add to their misery cholera had broken out in their midst, while a number of the prisoners too were daily dying from their wounds.

In the house of a Bengali doctor, who had been appointed to look after the sick, there was found a list of the prisoners, both of Cawnpore and of Fatehgarh. The Fatehgarh list is dated the 11th July and contains forty-six names, many unrecognisable, and several belonging to Cawnpore; while the list of Cawnpore prisoners has a few which may belong to Fatehgarh. The actual number of those who entered the

Bibighar, and came from Colonel Smith's boat, was forty-four. They were Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Colonel Goldie, Mary and Ellen Goldie; Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill, Charles and Mary Thornhill: Mrs. Tucker, Miss Tucker, Louisa and George Tucker: Mrs. Rohan, Mary, Catherine, Ellen, Nelly, Jane, Cornelia and David Rohan and one other child: Miss Nancy Lang: Mrs. Lowis, Emma and Eliza Lowis, and one baby: Mrs. Best and three children: Mrs. Maltby: Mrs. Gibson and two children: Mrs. Ahern: Mrs. Roach, Eliza Roach and one other child: Miss Sturt: Mrs. Heathcote and two children: and Mrs. Boscow.

Additional names inscribed in the Bengali doctor's list are Mrs. Thompson, Miss Seth, Mrs. Woolyar, Mrs. Fatman, Mrs. Guthrie, Godfrey and baby Lloyd. They cannot be traced in the Fatehgarh records, and without much doubt belong to Cawnpore.

On the 15th July at 4 p. m. the sepoy guard called out the men. They asked where they were going. To see the Nana, they were told. In passing out of the courtyard their lips were seen moving as if in prayer, says an eye-witness in the crowd, which had gathered in the compound outside. Some of the ladies ran to the door to see in which direction they were being taken. The sentries pushed them back. Outside the house, relates the same eye-witness, the men walked steadily to the gate; for they well understood the summons. Outside the gate; which led into the road, they were halted, and there on the grass, which bordered the highway, in an instant fell riddled with bullets fired at point blank range. Two days later another witness saw their bodies still lying there, the veteran Colonel Smith, Colonel Goldie, "a tall old gentleman", and Thornhill, the Judge. With them lay Mr. Greenway, the rich Cawnpore merchant and Thomas, his thirteen year old son. An hour later the sepoys poured a volley into the house, pushing their muskets through the venetians of the doors and windows. Their heart was not in the work, and the firing was at random. At 6 p. m. five persons entered the house with swords and completed the massacre. Many of the bodies were thrown into the narrow well in the garden behind, over which stands the monument to-day; but the well was far too small to contain all, and

the majority were dragged to the river and thrown into it. Only two days later, General Havelock's column entered Cawnpore, and the rebels fled.

On his reaching Cawnpore in safety Mr. Gavin Jones visited the "Massacre House". "I recognised", he says, "among the hats, shoes and articles of clothing that lay scattered about the enclosure and rooms, some of those belonging to the ladies and children of our party. It was too bewildering to realise that I stood there alone, the sole survivor of over seventy souls of the boat load, to witness the ghastly scene of their murder."

CHAPTER VII.

THE PARADE GROUND MASSACRE.

THE last vestige of Government's authority had disappeared with the passing of Colonel Smith's ill-fated boat down the Ganges; and the stage was set for the final scene of the Mutiny tragedy at Fatehgarh. There may not have been such outstanding personages as those who disgraced the drama at Cawnpore; but on a humbler scale they who were cast for the leading roles at Fatehgarh are no less interesting by reason of divergence of rank and occupation. From the chief lady of the Nawab's zenana to the coachman, each carried out their part with a murderous zeal prompted by the basest passions; while a clumsy *deus ex machina* in the shape of a forged letter was brought into existence, which if it had not been productive of such fatal results, would have been an object of contemptuous scorn. The whole story, set in the Nawab's ill-kept buildings, screened from the outside world by tottering mud walls, is theatrical to a high degree; and since there were no survivors but two Indian Christians, who from their prison in the stables heard little or nothing, and those who stood in the dock on trial for their lives, dependence has to be made on the Vernacular records of the trials in 1858.

The leading lady was Bilkis Zamania Begum, popularly known as the Bigga Begum, the head wife of the Nawab and ruler of the zenana. Her lot was perhaps the worst of all. Her husband was exiled to Arabia, there working out his penitence in loneliness and indigence for a brief while; while the swifter and luckier fate of the gallows awaited Ghulam Ali Khan, the Kotwal, Wazir Khan, the coachman and Ganga Singh, the Sepoy Commander, all of whom suffered the supreme penalty for the revolting murders on the parade Ground. Bigga Begum was morally guilty in the opinion of the witnesses of the time. She was tried and acquitted in 1859, for it was next to impossible to procure anything but

hearsay evidence against her. She lost all her property by confiscation. Every portion of the Nawab's wide domains was taken from the family. His home was razed to the ground. His bungalow between those numbered 18 and 19 in Cantonments was allowed to fall into ruin. Bigga Begum herself was eventually granted a pension of Rs. 105 monthly by Government, on which to keep her family from absolute want, and permitted to drag out a wretched existence for thirty-eight years in an old gateway near the ruined site of the palace, of which she had been the proud mistress. She died unnoticed and in poverty on the 21st January 1895. The last surviving son of the Nawab died on the 2nd June 1930, and his three children draw small pensions from Government to this day.

It has been related in a previous chapter that many residents of the station had been arrested in their houses at Machlitola or hunted out of their hiding places by Bhullan, the baker. Two Anglo-Indians had been taken on arrest to the camp of the 41st at Shisham Bagh, and executed on the spot by the sepoys. Bhullan himself murdered an old pensioner, but the slaughter seems to have been stayed for some unknown reason. After these preliminary murders, unfortunate Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians were haled to the Nawab's Fort in the City, and imprisoned in some outhouses. Together with the thirteen survivors from the Manpur massacre, these prisoners numbered thirty-four. Twenty-three of them were women and children.

At 11 a. m. on the 5th July the Manpur captives were led up the steep roadway through the Fort gateways, of which there were two. The mound, some eighty or a hundred feet high, was an old Hindu site long before. Nawab Mohammed Khan built his fort on it in 1714. This fort was of mud, the walls being attached to twenty earthen bastions, and the whole surrounded by ditch of the same depth as a man's height. Inside was a palace, a mosque, and a mass of stables and outhouses, inhabited by a swarming population of dependents and poor relations. To-day, the imposing Town Hall of Mr. Lindsay, Collector after the Mutiny, occupies the position of the old palace; while the rest of the site, save for a small mosque and old stables now used for the Tahsil revenue offices, is

bare and gives no indication of the large buildings, in which the Nawabs maintained their dignity. After the Mutiny the Nawab's Palace was blown up, and its courts, buildings and gateways razed to the ground.

The women and children were confined in rooms in the Khas Mahal or main palace block. The men were kept on starvation diet in some open sheds in a corner of the Fort, and guarded by sepoys. Later the women seem to have transferred to an outhouse, which was ordinarily used for horses, and if so the place would have been on the emplacement of the present Tahsil office. The evidence, however, is not at all clear, and dependence has to be made on the statements of a retired doctor, aged seventy years, named Bakshu, who was called by the Nawab to attend to the wounded ladies. Bakshu made several varying depositions at trials in 1858, after having been himself tried and acquitted, and his memory often failed him in details.

Bakshu refused to go to the Fort, when first summoned by the Nawab. He went on being called by Mrs. Sutherland, and found three wounded in the outhouse, whose wounds he cleaned with warm water, and treated as best as he could Mrs. Jones had been hit by a bullet low on the right side and the wound was dangerous, although it afterwards healed up well. The same bullet on emerging smashed the left hand of her little nine year old girl, who was sitting on her lap at the time. Mrs. Sutherland had been shot through the lower part of her back from side to side. Of the three Mrs. Jones curiously recovered first. The other two were still invalids, when they were taken to the parade ground. Bakshu found the captives very closely guarded, and no one was allowed to see them except Ghulam Ali Khan, the head of the police, and himself. They received an allowance of gram and barley from the Nawab's zenana, and from the slight indications available were in more comfortable state than the men. Dhaukal Parshad and the Indian Christians were practically fed by visitors from the bazar.

Bakshu remembered the Manpur survivors well, and in fact he appears to have had previous acquaintance with them. Mrs. Sutherland he knew, and he described the others as Miss Sutherland baba and her small

brother. One other Sutherland boy was in the hills, and he must have been the only survivor of this ill-fated family. Bakshu knew Mrs. Jones and her daughter also, and adds that little Miss Jon was also brought with them from Singhirampur. Rebecca Dhaukal Pershad, her four children, and Mrs. Jones' mother completed the number of the women from Major Robertson's boat. Besides this party, there was Miss Hine, Mrs. Dick, the mother of Mr. Jennings, the merchant, the mother of Mr. Macklin, the Collectorate Head Clerk, the mother of Mr. Anderson, the mother of Mr. Brierley's wife's sister-in-law and others. These ladies are called in one place Anglo-Indians, in another Indians, and from their reluctance to leave Fatehgarh, or go into the Fort with the other residents, it is more than probable they were pure Indians with close local ties. Mr. Anderson's mother is always definitely styled Mussalmani. Mr. Anderson himself was an employee of the Army Clothing Agency. He had been killed at Manpur. Mrs. Jennings lived in a small house west of the Club Tennis Courts, and next door to Mrs. Collins. Miss Hine lived where now is the Gracey Tennis Club. The Sutherlands were long established merchants in Fatehgarh, and as far as is known their house was on the site now covered by the Maude Lines.

The next event was the illness of the Nawab, who seems to have been visited by a slight attack of cholera. It was announced that two Christians would be liberated in order to pray for his recovery. The choice fell on Joseph Dore and Drum Major Knowles of the 10th N. I. Both were Indian Christians, the former having been in the service of one of the missionaries at Barhpur. He was a useful witness at many of the post-Mutiny trials. Knowles had served in the Fort during the siege, but did not leave with the garrison. He is never mentioned again, and left Fatehgarh. The two prisoners performed their allotted task, and the Nawab recovered. The number of prisoners was then thirty-two.

An intrigue of the blackest description now slowly took shape in the second week of July, the ultimate aim of which was the complete destruction of the helpless prisoners. For a description of the treachery and plottings, which occupied the days up to the 23rd July, reliance has

to be placed on the testimony of witnesses who appeared at the trials of Ghulam Ali Khan, the Nawab and his wife, Wazir Khan, the Nawab's coachman, and others. None of the witnesses with the exception of Bakshu were behind the scene, and Bakshu only partially so; for he was only able to relate what he heard from the prisoners themselves. The records are chaotic, and the contemporary investigation was surprisingly incomplete, vague statements and generalities being passed as good; while allusions to persons, no doubt well-known to the Magistrate and witnesses at the time, are casual to a maddening degree.

The Nawab, after providing a doctor and a cook for attendance on them, ceased to busy himself about the captives. A State visit was paid to the Fatehgarh Fort, where riding on an elephant the Nawab arrived to decorate the tomb of the Mian Sahib. Immersed in details of ceremony and processions, and his attention fully occupied in recovering from illness, he was unaware of the hostility felt for the prisoners by the Bigga Begum. According to the witnesses Ghulam Ali Khan secured two Anglo-Indian prisoners, mother and daughter, in one of the houses of the station. The daughter, aged fourteen years, was taken into the Nawab's harem. The Bigga Begum's jealousy was excited at the thought that the Nawab would marry the new-comer. She sent for the officers of the 41st and urged them to demand the death of all the prisoners, so that the new arrival to the harem might disappear also in a general holocaust. At this interesting point the trying Magistrate and the witnesses fail.

They give the name of the girl, who had thus aroused the worst passions of the Bigga Begum, as Bonny or Mrs. Burke. It is known now, from other sources and allusions in the records, that this was Mrs. Byrne, who met her youthful husband at the Kidderpur dances, and by an unhappy chance had returned to the station, from which she had once been expelled. In recording the evidence the Magistrate was determined to be vague. He gave no explanation in his judgment as to Bonny's after fate or even her previous history; and except that she must have been sent to Cawnpore by the authorities on the re-occupation of the station, there is no further room even for conjecture. She passes out of

the story, and the lapse of seventy-five years has obliterated her traces completely.

The officers of the 41st appear to have temporised; and nothing more is heard of the Bigga Begum, although it may be certainly assumed that she did not relax her efforts. A much worse plot was brewing at the instance of the Nawab's coachman, Wazir Khan.

Wazir Khan stands forth as one of the most repulsive characters which came into being during the Fatehgarh outbreak. He appears to have been a vicious dependent of the Nawab, and not only a menial servant employed to drive the Nawab in his buggy, but a confidant, who was used to carry out intrigues and enterprises of a shady character. He was Superintendent of the Horse Bazar and boat-bridge contractor for Ghatia Ghat. The witnesses from the City exhibited much loathing for him, and there was no lack of evidence to be obtained against him.

Long before the Mutiny the Nawab had taken lessons in sketching from one of the Fatehgarh residents, and was usually driven to the house in his buggy by Wazir Khan. At the beginning of June, when the first boat journey was being arranged, the mother-in-law of this gentleman, being a Musalmani, and unwilling to accompany her son-in-law to Cawnpore, arranged to go into hiding and entrust her jewels to Wazir Khan for safe keeping, until conditions became normal. After the residents had left on June 4th, she accordingly sent a box of jewels and sovereigns through a sweeper woman named Lachhia, and herself left her son-in-law's bungalow and went into the bazar. It was subsequently her fate to be taken prisoner to the Nawab's Fort, an event which filled Wazir Khan with consternation.

Dr. Bakshu was employed as a medium and through him the jewels were demanded back on threat of a complaint to the Nawab. The prisoners had no money, and were in want of many necessaries. The history of Wazir Khan and these jewels was known to them all, and a passionate interest in their recovery was displayed. Bakshu did his best, and Wazir Khan had to promise he would give them up. The prisoners, however, by their insistence had sealed their doom.

Ghulam Ali Khan, who from the beginning had shown a savage desire for the death of the prisoners, lent his aid. On the 22nd July Wazir Khan came into the stable, which fronted the principal gate of the Fort, and displayed to the crowd of loafers and bystanders taking their ease by the gate, a letter written in English. He said he had just picked it up near the gate. It was addressed to the English General at Cawnpore and appealed for help.

Wazir Khan and Ghulam Ali Khan hastened to show the letter to the Nawab, who recognised it at once as a clumsy forgery, and said no English person could have written it. Wazir Khan, finding the Nawab would not move in the matter, went off in a carriage to the camp of the 41st at Shisham Bagh, and showed the letter to Ganga Singh and Agha Husain, the commanders of the infantry and cavalry respectively. On what grounds they deemed the death of the prisoners necessary is not known ; but both commanders came to the Nawab's house that night and argued with the Nawab about it. After a night's hesitation he allowed the sepoys to move the prisoners to their deaths, an act which he was to expiate by years of penurious exile in Arabia, and which brought the other chief actors to the gallows. Ten years later Subadar Ganga Singh, the last of them, had the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that not one had escaped a just punishment.

At 11 a. m. on the morning of the 23rd July the prisoners were taken out of their quarters. They had been told of the forged letter. The ladies told the doctor that they knew Wazir Khan had written it, and this was his revenge. They knew too, says the doctor, that they had reached the end of the journey. It was raining at the time, and all the day showers of rain continued to fall. At the start Ali Jan, the sepoy of the 41st, tried to save the young girl he had escorted from Singhirampur, but was not allowed to interfere. The twenty-two ladies and children were placed in two kiranchis, or bullock carts, which had been used in Cantonments for the transport of road metal. The little procession was guarded by sepoys of the 41st and a body of the Kaimganj Pathans, and passed by Barhpur to the parade ground. Subadar Ganga Singh

brought up the rear on his elephant. The place to which they were taken, was the rifle range by Madden's bungalow, the camp of the Sitapur mutineers being only a few hundred yards away at Shisham Bagh. The ten men, who had been confined separately in the Nawab's Fort, marched by a different road to Madden's bungalow, being taken along the Qadri Darwaza road through the present railway lines.

Mr. J. R. Madden with his wife, three children, and two sisters, were members of the first boat expedition. He was one of the chief subordinates of Colonel Tucker, and in charge of a department of the Army Clothing Agency. He lived a long way from the Factory, the site of which, as has been mentioned, is now occupied by the tennis courts of the Fatehgarh Station Club in the Company Garden. His house, which was painted yellow, and compound are easy to find; for the house stood exactly where All Saints Memorial Church has been built, and the present Church compound is bounded by the same limits as those of his compound. The Memorial Well was an old disused well, which was dry; and it stands, as does all the western portion of the compound, on ground slightly higher than the adjoining plain. The well, therefore, overlooked a row of mud huts, which stood a few feet away from Mr. Madden's boundary. These huts belonged to the rifle range, and were connected with the firing point, the targets being near the present Circular Road probably not more than one hundred yards away. The exact scene of the massacre can be seen looking westwards from the Memorial Well towards the Circular road.

The male prisoners arrived first. It was after midday, and large crowds had gathered on the parade ground in the vicinity of the rifle range. The sepoys kept them back, and eye-witnesses of the massacre admit that they were standing no nearer than the spot where the new cemetery has been laid out. The many accounts of the massacre, therefore, which have appeared, pretending to give even the last words of the sufferers, are apocryphal. It was impossible for any bystander to have stood sufficiently close to hear spoken words. A few sepoys of the old 10th, who had themselves escaped massacre, and continued to be

employed as guards, are the only witnesses of what really occurred. Isan Chandar Deb the Gun Carriage Factory Clerk, made close enquiry immediately after; and his account, the sources of which are not disclosed, may be taken as correct in most particulars.

The men were taken into the yellow bungalow and their arms tied. One by one they were called out, each on emerging from the doorway being immediately cut down by the swords of two sepoys chosen as executioners. First of all was killed "the unknown young man" as he is pathetically called. No one knew his name, nor where he had come from, and the monument over his remains is silent. Then followed the turn of the others, several of them old men. Here were murdered Dhaukal Parshad, Head Master of the Mission High School in the City; Mr. William and Mr. John, Indian Christians; Mr. Paton and Mr. Edgar Turton, the sons of two old army pensioners, who had made Fatehgarh their home; Mr. Kew, the Postmaster; Mr. Atkins, Mr. Gaumisse, Master Dick, and the young man, who was unknown. They were ten in all. Three were Indian Christians, and the remainder Anglo-Indian by origin. Their bodies were left lying where they fell.

The women and children were assembled under the huts below the well. They were made to sit on the ground, their backs to the wall, and facing a gun loaded with grape. Twice the gun misfired; and several discharges of grape were needed to kill the defenceless prisoners. When all had sunk lifeless on the ground, it was seen that Miss Sutherland had not been harmed. The grape had not touched her. A sepoy then fired a pistol at her and missed. Lifting her hand to the sky she cried out that as God had protected her, they also might save her! Ghulam Ali Khan ordered her to be cut down. A sepoy of the 41st named Dixshit and a Mussalman of the Oudh Irregulars then went up and stilled her voice for ever. Twenty-two women and children perished in this useless and meaningless murder. They were Mrs. Sutherland, Miss Sutherland and Master Sutherland; Mrs. L. Jones, her daughter and mother: the European daughter of Conductor Jon: Rebecca, the wife of Dhaukal Pershad and four children: Miss Hine: Mrs. Dick: Miss Gaumisse: Mrs.

Atkins, Miss Atkins and Master Atkins: Mrs. Jennings: Mrs. Anderson: Mrs. Macklin, and the mother of Mr. Brierley's sister-in-law. Their bodies were left by the wall of the huts, until the next morning. All, including those of the men, were then thrown into the dry well behind.

After the Mutiny, the Government of the North-West Provinces erected over the well the handsome cross of Agra stone, which is to be seen to-day. On three sides are inscribed the name of the residents and their families, one hundred and ninety-two in number, who were murdered at Cawnpore, Fatehgarh, and in the Manpur Katri massacre on the river. The actual number was two-hundred and thirty-seven; but the dedicatory inscription will apply to them all. (See Appendix VII.)

Kale Khan had not been forgotten by the Military dictators at Shisham Bagh. It was their intention to collect prisoners for a last great battue, and provide a spectacle for the populace, which would give weight to their authority. He was kept apart in a cell of the Nawab's Fort, until such occasion when Subadar Ganga Singh could find others to share his death. Kale Khan had only six days to wait.

Amid the tragic scenes of the Mutiny at Fatehgarh there were many displays of heroism, which can but dimly be viewed through the imperfect medium of the records; and not the least poignant is the record of pluck and staunch loyalty shown by this humble sepoy of the 10th. The evidence of eager witnesses, which was judicially recorded in 1868 at the trial of Subadar Ganga Singh of the 10th Oudh Irregulars, has lifted the veil of obscurity so long cast over his career; and in view of his remarkable devotion to duty, Kale Khan's services deserve a more minute account than that given to them by the Official Narrative of events.

Kale Khan and Surat Singh were the only sepoys of the regiment at Fatehgarh who refused to desert the Colours. They entered the Fort with their Colonel, and throughout the siege rendered good services. The former indeed was giving up everything that was dear to him. His wife Pyari and his two year old son Abdullah were left in the regimental lines to fend for themselves. They came to no harm, and in February 1858 left Fatehgarh with British column, returning to Cawnpore. Despite all

efforts, the Government was unable to trace them. Pyari made no application for reward, and neither she nor her son were ever heard of again. Although details are wanting, it is known that at 2 a. m. on the 4th July they entered the boats with the survivors of the garrison. Kale Khan was in Major Robertson's boat; while of Surat Singh there is no further mention at all. He undoubtedly perished at Manpur Katri; for otherwise his capture or escape would have received especial mention. When Major Robertson's boat was surrounded, Kale Khan threw himself into the water with the other occupants of the boat and secured a bamboo pole. He was an excellent swimmer, and was able by desperate exertions to support Major Robertson, until Mr. Churcher arrived with an oar. He then swam away and had actually proceeded alone some distance down stream, when the mutineers perceived him, and by sending a boat in pursuit captured him just past Singhirampur, to which village he was brought back.

Kale Khan could expect but little mercy. He was marched to the Nawab's Fort at Farrukhabad, and confined in an outhouse on starvation rations. It is a revelation of the curious mentality of the sepoys that they reserved Kale Khan for an official trial by Court Martial, and excepted him from the massacre on the parade ground on July 23rd. It was one of the charges preferred against Subadar Ganga Singh that he had arrogated to himself judicial functions in an unlawful manner, and sentenced persons to death without legal jurisdiction. Kale Khan was sentenced to death; and orders were given for his execution on the 29th July in company with two Sikhs, a Chamar, and three Khatris who had murdered their brother. The Sikhs had been found crossing the district in possession of a letter in English, signed by Mr. Muir of the Civil Service at Agra; and this was sufficient to seal their fate.

The eastern entrance to Farrukhabad city is by the Lal Darwaza, a lofty gate of red stone, which still stands with much the same appearance as at 5 p. m. on that hot July afternoon in 1857. An immense crowd had gathered on the old walls of the city and at every vantage point by the gateway. To this spot Kale Khan and his five companions were

brought in a regimental waggon with arms tied behind their backs. The escort was headed by Subadar Ganga Singh himself riding on a young elephant, and he was responsible for every detail of the "tamasha", as the witnesses described it. Hard-by the gate was an empty tank, which is still to be seen; and the main road by it crosses over a bridge. Beneath the bridge the Subadar stationed a gun, which had been brought from the Fort. The prisoners were made to sit down on the bed of the tank a few paces in front of the gun, two discharges of which were needed to cause their death. It is emphatically stated that Kale Khan, though sorely wounded, still survived the grape shot; and the Subadar ordered Musahib Ali and Akbar Ali, two officers of the Nawab's Waziri regiment, to put an end to his sufferings. The heads of the victims were severed, and suspended from the branch of a nim tree overlooking the tank. Kale Khan's body was buried in the small Mohamedan cemetery by the gate, the others being thrown away on waste land by the tank. It is a curious feature that with the exception of Ganga Singh, not one man of the regular regiments would attend the execution.

Retribution was slow but inevitable. In July 1858 Musahib Ali and Akbar Ali were hanged for their active participation; but in that year Ganga Singh had vanished. The story of his discovery merits some description. Eleven years later a young Police recruit at Fyzabad informed his Superintendent of the existence of an old rebel in his home village. Investigation led to the arrest of one Ram Saran, who was found to have been a Jemadar in the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry. The witnesses at his trial in Fatehgarh could not identify him. They unanimously described Ganga Singh as the leader of the rebels; and an active search was prosecuted for him throughout the province, his name and description by some curious chance having been omitted from the list of proscribed rebels. He was apprehended in the Unao district, brought to trial at Fatehgarh, and hanged in the District Jail on the 22nd January 1869. Numbers of the spectators, who on the 29th July, eleven years previously, had seen Kale Khan unflinchingly meet his fate, pressed forward to give their testimony against his murderer; and their words bear witness not only to

Kale Khan's death with honour, but also to the responsibility of Ganga Singh in bringing it to pass. It is significant that at the end, when Ganga Singh felt that the sands of his life were running out, he made one supreme effort to protest his innocence. His last words, contained in a appeal for mercy, hardly dwell upon the sanguinary events at Fatehgarh, which formed the grounds of the charges against him. The wretched man's memory harked back to the tragic scene of the 3rd June in his own Cantonment at Sitapur; when without a word of warning he had helped to shoot down his officers and their families, and run amok through the Civil Station in a mad revelry of arson and carnage. He had not lifted a hand against his officers, he wrote, and had been an unwilling spectator of what was evidently, to his warped mentality, the worst of all the crimes which he had witnessed. It is probable that he felt the more the weight of those enormities, and went to his execution, punished in his estimation for crimes with the commission of which he had not been charged; but the remembrance of them, if perhaps dulled by the long years of retreat in his village home, had really never been effaced. *Post equitem sedet atra cura!*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SURVIVORS.

THE fate of the great majority of the unhappy residents of Fatehgarh having been described, it is now time to follow the fortunes, and misfortunes, of the small band destined to come through these troublous times unscathed. These consisted, in addition to Mr. Jones and Mr. David Churcher, whose adventures have already been mentioned, of the Probyn family and Mr. Edwards, who had been Collector of the neighbouring district of Budaun, and from which he had been forced to flee. His adventures before he managed to reach Fatehgarh were stirring enough. On the 1st June, when the district was in a ferment, and news had been received of the outbreak at Bareilly, whence the released jail birds were on their way to Budaun, he was joined by Mr. Donald and his son, indigo planters from Ujhani in the district, and a Mr. Gibson in the Customs service. That evening the sepoy guard on the Treasury mutinied and released the 300 prisoners in the District Jail. The local police joined them. Flight was the only thing, and the four of them, accompanied by Mr. Edwards' servant Wazir Singh, a Christian Sikh who had been in the Army, got away towards the Ganges. They reached Patiali at 7 p. m. on the 2nd June, only to hear that the Oudh Irregulars who were believed to be coming to their assistance (Captain Hayes' men) had murdered their officers. They had with them some sixty sowars, all on leave from various regiments, and were naturally doubtful of their loyalty. They remained at Patiali for three days, getting rid of most of their escort, but retaining a Risaldar and twenty men on whom they thought they could rely. On the 5th June they determined to make for Agra, and at 10 p. m. that night started, together with Messrs. Bramley and Phillips of Etah District, who had joined them at Patiali. The whole of that night they spent wandering about dodging bodies of rebels who appeared in every village in which they tried to shelter. Next morning they decided to return to Patiali and get rid of the remainder of their

escort, which had been getting very truculent. Worn out, they arrived on the night of the 6th June, and decided to separate, Messrs. Phillips and Bramley making for Agra, and Mr. Edwards' party returning towards Budaun. On reaching the Ganges crossing the latter party learnt that the rebels were waiting for them on the other side, and there was also difficulty about getting a boat in which to ferry across. After much discussion they were persuaded by the local zamindar to make for Farrukhabad, and eventually reached Kaimganj at 8 a. m. on the 8th June.

Here they applied to the Tehsildar for assistance and guides to get them to Fatehgarh. This official was obviously in a state of nerves, and as a large crowd immediately collected on hearing of the party's arrival, he recommended them to apply for assistance to Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan, whose house was about a mile away and who would certainly protect and assist them. They accepted his advice and were taken into the Nawab's garden. At first they could only get an interview with the Nawab's brothor, who was somewhat the worse for opium, but eventually the Nawab himself came and, although kind, seemed reluctant to allow them to enter his house. They were finally taken on to the roof, where they explained their situation and the weariness of their horses, and asked for a boat to take them down the river to Fatehgarh. The Nawab told them that he had sent a messenger to Shamsabad to his relative the Nawab Dulla, who would have no difficulty in providing a boat, as his house was on the river. He was obviously anxious to get rid of them, and gave them an escort of six men under a relative of his named Multan Khan, with which they started out at 11-30 a. m. On their way across country Wazir Singh gave them the cheerful information that while at Kaimganj he had heard the Nawab's people saying that they would be murdered as soon as they embarked. There was no alternative to going on, and eventually they arrived at Shamsabad.

Here they were received by a Hindu official, named Panni Lal, of the Nawab Dulla. It may be explained that this Nawab, whose name was Syed Mohamed Ali Khan, was so styled because he had married

Nawab Jafri Begum, the daughter of Nawab Fazle Ali Khan Bahadur, Prime Minister of Nasir-ud-din Hyder, King of Oudh. It was in fact a courtesy title, and he himself was a man of no particular importance, though he claimed descent from the Safavi Kings of Persia. Although he was present in the enclosure, and messages were frequently passing between his Hindu henchman and himself, he refused to appear during the party's visit. Panni Lal treated them very civilly and took them to a European style bungalow in the enclosure, where they were regaled with hard-boiled eggs. While so engaged a large armed crowd entered the compound and surged up to the door. Panni Lal got very agitated and entreated them to mount and return to Kaimganj at once, but to be careful not to leave their escort.

They mounted and moved slowly out of the compound, which was crowded. Finding that he had left a small bag containing Rs. 150 in the house, Mr. Edwards returned for it, but was met by Panni Lal with the remark "Why have you come back? Your rupees are not here. Go away or you will lose your life." The party finally started at 2-30 p. m., but had gone only 200 yards when they noticed that their road was barred by a party of sowars. Multan Khan then told them to return to the bungalow, or they would be killed, and at the same time moved rapidly off with his men. The party, Mr. Gibson on a camel, being a bad rider, and the remainder on horses, accordingly turned back towards the bungalow. By this time the crowd had increased to about 500, and as the fugitives reached the wall of the bungalow opened fire on them. Mr. Edwards and the two Donalds managed to burst their way through the crowd and follow their escort, but Mr. Gibson's camel became unmanageable and he was hit in the hand. He then tried to get into the compound, but found the gate locked against him. Seeing a ladder against the wall he mounted it, but when near the top he was shot in the stomach and it was pulled away from under him. He fell to the ground, to be murdered with repeated blows of a hatchet.

The three horsemen overtook their escort, which seemed in no way pleased to see them but was with difficulty persuaded to take them back

to Kaimganj. There they arrived about 4 p. m., and were concealed on the roof by Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan till nightfall. Then, dressed in native costume, and led by a leave man of Cox's Troop of Horse Artillery, they started to ride to Fatehgarh. They had one narrow escape on the way, but eventually reached the Kotwali in Farrukhabad City at about 5 on the morning of the 9th. There they got another guide, and reached Mr. Probyn's house at 8. From him they learnt the news about the 10th N. I., the first exodus, and the party at Dharampur, and realised that their troubles were by no means over. They remained at Fatehgarh till the following afternoon, when they crossed the Ganges with Mr. Probyn and joined the party at Dharampur. When the majority, dissatisfied with the accommodation and prospects at Dharampur, returned to Fatehgarh Mr. Edwards decided to remain there with the Probyn family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Probyn and four children.

From now on they lived largely on rumours, most of them of a depressing nature. Hardeo Baksh Singh told them they were to stay indoors during the day, and to admit nobody to their quarters. On the first day of their sojourn, after the others had returned to Fatehgarh, they heard much knocking and digging at one of the walls of their room, and on going out after dark they discovered that it had been due to the excavation of an 18-pounder gun from the wall. A 24-pounder had at the same time been recovered from a field where it had been buried, and wheels for both had been produced from wells. Four other guns had been brought in from near-by villages. These guns had been concealed since the annexation of Oudh in 1856, following on the issue of a proclamation directing all the Talukdars to surrender their ordnance. More were said to be available in case of necessity.

On the 18th June news was received in the evening that a body of mutineers was on its way from Fatehgarh to attack Dharampur and to capture the two Collectors who were in hiding. Actually this party consisted of the four companies of the 10th N. I., accompanied by Captain Bignell, which were making off with the Treasure after having persuaded the 41st N. I. to postpone its distribution till next morning. It is possible

that they had given out their intention of attacking Dharampur to disarm suspicion and ensure a longer start. In any case, Hardeo Baksh Singh believed that he was to be attacked, and insisted on the refugees leaving Dharampur for Khasaura, a small village occupied by his uncles, three miles away across the Ramganga. Next morning they heard that the party had turned off towards Lucknow, and that Hardeo Baksh Singh had refrained from attacking them as he feared that once his people had tasted the joys of loot there would be no keeping them in hand.

The firing which announced the opening of the attack on Fatehgarh Fort was distinctly audible in Khasaura, but for some time no authentic news was available as to what course events were taking. At the end of three days they got Hardeo Baksh Singh to send a man in to obtain definite information, and while he was away Mr. Probyn received a note from Mr. Thornhill, the Judge, saying that they were all worn out as a result of repulsing the rebels' attacks, and asking him to get Hardeo Baksh Singh's men sent to their relief. Although the latter was apparently quite ready to do anything he could, there were a number of his retainers who were very far from having the same feelings, and the most he could get them to do was to protect the Probyns and Mr. Edwards from attack. Mr. Probyn therefore wrote to Mr. Thornhill and suggested that he try and get assistance from a "body of men in Farrukhabad, called Sadhs; a fighting class of religionists, who were supposed to be very hostile to the sepoys and would act against them." It is impossible to understand this suggestion, unless it has been mutilated in transcription. The Sadh of to-day, who can hardly have changed much in the intervening seventy-five years, is a trader pure and simple, and shows no signs of ever having been anything else.

After the evacuation of the Fort they heard various rumours of the fortunes of those in the boats, and Hardeo Baksh Singh received a message from the Nawab to the effect that his rule had now started, and he required, as a sort of entrance donation, the sum of Rs. 1 lakh. This sum might, however, be compounded by the delivery of the heads of Messrs. Probyn and Edwards. Hardeo Baksh Singh postponed the matter

by replying that he had always been in the Province of Oudh, and Fatehgarh in that of Agra. He did not, therefore, like to hand the Collectors over without first obtaining the consent of the rebel authorities at Lucknow, to whom he had sent messengers. Some days later two relations of Hardeo Baksh Singh came to them in Khasaura and told them that their presence was a menace to their relative's safety, and that they must proceed to Cawnpore by boat at once. They could do nothing, and were prevented from communicating with Hardeo Baksh Singh in Dharampur. After one or two false starts, the boat not being ready, they finally got orders one evening to start for the Ramganga. After struggling through mud and water for about half a mile they were met by a messenger who told them to turn back and make for another village beyond Khasaura, as the sepoys were about to attack Dharampur. Three miles on their way there another messenger overtook them, and told them that the sepoys had retreated and they were to return to the boat. By this time Mrs. Probyn, who had to carry one of the children, was very exhausted by the heavy going, and a short stop was made in Khasaura. When nearing the Ramganga again Mr. Probyn went on to try and cross it and see Hardeo Baksh Singh. When the rest of the party arrived there was no boat for them, and after waiting for an hour under the most miserable conditions, one of the two men who had insisted on their departure for Cawnpore arrived and ordered them back to Khasaura. This they reached, soaking wet, at about 3 a. m., having originally started at 6 p. m. and having been almost continuously on the move ever since. It is amazing that Mrs. Probyn and the unfortunate children stood it as well as they did. About an hour after they got back Mr. Probyn also returned. He had seen Hardeo Baksh Singh, and obtained a promise that he would give up the idea of sending them away by boat.

For some days after this they were left in peace, but in the meantime the Nawab had begun to press for the heads of the two Collectors again, and Hardeo Baksh Singh came to the conclusion that the only safe plan was to send them all across country to Lucknow. To this proposal they agreed eagerly, for their quarters were, to put it mildly,

distinctly uncomfortable in Khasaura. Horses were accordingly provided for the men, and a palanquin for Mrs. Probyn and the children. On the night of their departure it rained, and they had to postpone their start. Four days passed in anxious waiting, and on the fifth night Hardeo Bakhsh Singh came and told them that the news from Lucknow was very bad, and the risk of moving in that direction too great. He also gave them some news of the boats, and said that Messrs. Jones and Churcher were hiding in one of his villages. At the same time he stressed the necessity of their leaving Khasaura, and suggested they should move to a village some twenty miles away in a very desolate part of the country. Mr. Edwards, however, felt sure that once they left the immediate neighbourhood of Hardeo Bakhsh Singh they would be murdered, as several of his retainers had shown themselves distinctly hostile for some time. He therefore got hold of Kasuri Singh, a Thakur of the village, and the biggest man in it, and asked him if he could not make some better arrangements. He said he thought they could be hidden just as well in a much nearer village, and Hardeo Baksh Singh agreed to this being done. The next day Kasuri Singh and Wazir Singh, Mr. Edwards' servant, went to find a suitable spot. They got back at 9 p. m., and Wazir Singh said they had found a small village in which no one could find them if they searched for a year. The next day the proposed plan was enlarged on, and it turned out that the Probyns were expected to leave their four children in Khasaura, on the grounds that it would be impossible to hide the whereabouts of a large party, and that the adults were to spend their days wandering about in the jungle, returning, if safe, to the hamlet which was to be their headquarters every night. Not unnaturally this scheme was rejected, and eventually they all set out for their new refuge.

Their troubles and discomfort had been bad enough heretofore, but from now onwards they multiplied a hundredfold. For their journey an elephant was provided for Mrs. Probyn, the four children and the Ayah. The two men and two servants walked. Directly they set out torrential rain started, soaking them and their bedding. A mile from

Khasaura they encountered a channel too deep for the elephant to wade, and it was sent back. The crossing was made in a boat and the journey continued on foot, the children being carried. The next obstacle was a sheet of water across which Mrs. Probyn had to be carried by her husband. At dawn, with the rain still pouring, they reached their new home, Ranjpura, and what a home! It consisted of four or five huts inhabited by Ahirs, and one of these was pointed out as the residence of the party. It turned out to be an unusually filthy cattle shed, with mud over the ankles. How Wazir Singh could possibly have passed it as fit for habitation by a lady and four children passes understanding. Fortunately, search showed that one of the huts had an upper storey of sorts, which was at least dry and comparatively clean, and of this the party took possession. Experiment showed that there was just room for them all to lie down, and no more. Here again they were told that they were on no account to show themselves outside in daylight. After some time the roof of their attic began to leak, and Mr. Edwards had to hire a cowshed, for Rs. 2 a month, and a charpoy, in order to leave some room for the others to avoid the drips of water.

The food question was also most acute. Milk and chuppaties only were available, and for some obscure reason the Ahirs would not supply the former on Sundays, on which days they reserved it all for their own use. Even on week days only buffalo milk was available, which the Probyn baby was unable to retain, beginning to droop and grow daily weaker. The Probyn had left some of their own milch goats in Khasaura, but could not obtain them. There was only one bright spot in this picture of mental and bodily discomfort, and that was that the rain turned the hamlet into an island, some hundred yards square, and it was no longer necessary for them to remain so carefully concealed all day.

On about the 22nd July they had another ray of hope, when a Brahmin from Khasaura, named Sita Ram, swam across to the island with news of a rebel defeat at Maharajpur 6 miles south of Cawnpore, which had caused strong psychological reaction in the City, including the shutting of the gates and a certain amount of evacuation, On the 23rd

July they heard gun fire from the direction of Fatehgarh, and they hoped that it might be our troops in pursuit of the already defeated rebels, many of whom had fled up to Farrukhabad. It was, of course, the sound of the parade ground massacre which they heard. The news of the rebel defeat had, however, a marked effect on the manner of those around them, and they received congratulatory visits from the Thakurs of Khasaura, and also managed to obtain their goats, though too late, as it turned out, to save the life of the unfortunate baby. This was now sinking fast, and they all feared that if they did not get back to Khasaura quickly there would be no dry ground in which to bury it when the now inevitable end came. They once more asked to be allowed to return, and on the 25th, after an absence of about a fortnight, an elephant and a boat took them back. The baby died that night, and was buried by Mr. Edwards under some trees.

On the 2nd August Mr. Gavin Jones was allowed to join them, largely owing to the favourable news from Cawnpore. Mr. Edwards thus describes the meeting. "I was roused this morning before dawn by a noise in the enclosure, and on looking up saw a tall spectral-looking figure standing before me, naked except for a piece of cloth wrapped round his waist, much emaciated, and dripping with water. I recognised him as young Mr. Jones, who, Hardeo Baksh had informed me, had been saved from the boat captured by the sepoys. He was very weak, and when I recognised him and spoke to him, burst into tears at hearing his own language again and seeing one of his own countrymen."

This improvement in the condition of the refugees was only temporary. A week later, on the 8th August, the proposal was put forward that Mr. Edwards should go to Naini Tal, where his wife was. Kasuri Singh's granddaughter was about to return to Pilibhit in a palanquin, and it was suggested that Edwards should hide in the same palanquin while travelling by day, and rest with certain trusty friends of Kasuri Singh's by night. Nothing, however, came of this plan. On the 11th August news and rumours from outside became so bad, including an offer of Rs. 1,000 for the head of each of the Collectors by the Begum of Oudh,

that Hardeo Baksh Singh said he could not conceal them any longer, and that they must either go to Naini Tal or down to Cawnpore by land. The refugees then attempted to get in touch with General Havelock at Cawnpore, to find out his views on the feasibility of the journey. On the 12th August Sita Ram, the Brahmin, was sent off to Cawnpore with a note to the General. While waiting for an answer they managed to cash two Hundis for Rs. 500. These had been sent to Mr. Edwards by one Baijnath Misr of Bareilly, and after cashing them in Farrukhabad the proceeds were sewn up in the saddles of two ponies which had been taken across a distant ferry loaded, that morning. They returned empty the following day, and roused no suspicion in the ferry guards. who supposed that they were returning for further loads.

On the 12th August the second blow fell on the Probyns. As a direct result of the privations at Ranjpura their little daughter died, and was buried along side her baby brother.

Sita Ram returned from Cawnpore on the 20th August, but without any answer from General Havelock. He had delivered the refugees' note, but after waiting for two days, and watching two battles, he had decided that the senders would be getting anxious and returned. On the 22nd Sita Ram was again sent off to Cawnpore, and on the same day Hardeo Baksh Singh came to them and said that things were getting so bad, including the fact that the Mutineers had blockaded his village for salt and sugar, that they really must get away to Cawnpore. They agreed to do this as soon as their messenger returned from General Havelock. On the 25th they sent a messenger to Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, offering them a place in their boat when they started. Major Robertson replied that although he was so weak that he fainted whenever he turned over to have his wound dressed, he would join them. Churcher, however, intended to remain where he was. On the 29th a reply was received from General Havelock, strongly dissuading them from attempting the journey. It was, however, a choice of dangers, and they decided to risk the voyage by river to Cawnpore.

Now commences the last chapter of their tribulations. On the 30th, a Sunday, on a dull and rainy morning, they embarked at 7 a. m. They had eight oarsmen, and a guard of eleven matchlockmen, all under Pirthipal Singh, Hardeo Baksh Singh's brother-in-law. Their messenger Sita Ram also accompanied them, as he was aware of the points at which the British troops were posted near Cawnpore. For two hours they waited for Messrs. Robertson and Churcher, to whom word of their departure had been sent. Their feelings at this delay may be imagined, for every minute increased the risk of discovery, and consequent cutting off by the Sepoys at the confluence of the Ganges and Ramganga. At last word arrived that neither would risk the journey, and at about 11 a. m. they set off down the Ramganga from opposite Dharampur. They passed the dangerous junction safely, and continued on their way. When on the Ganges they were challenged at a ferry, a boat being a most suspicious object at that period, but by drawing out the parleys they had drifted past the danger spot before any more drastic action could be taken against them.

At nighfall on the 30th they anchored near Tirwa Pallia, where lived a Thakur Dhanna Singh, who was to arrange for the safety of their onward journey. After some difficulty two of the boatmen were "persuaded" to go up to the village and announce the arrival of the party. Two hours passed without anything happening, and Mr. Probyn felt that the only thing to do was to start without further assistance. Fortunately Mr. Edwards overruled him, Dhanna Singh arrived, and the journey was continued at about 10 p. m. As a matter of precaution Dhanna Singh was persuaded to come on board the large boat, though he was very averse to leaving his small dinghy, which was being towed behind. Challenges from ferry guards were frequent, but in the last resort the well-known voice of Dhanna Singh always got them past. There was one particularly nerve wracking occasion, when the people on the bank were personal friends of Dhanna Singh's and wished him to come ashore and give them a lift. By telling the rowers to stop rowing to disarm suspicion, and starting a long stream of quite irrelevant questions, he allowed the current to carry the boat once more past the danger point, finally telling his

friends that he would look them up on his return from the bathing ghat, to which he was taking his family. At about 1 a. m. on the 31st August they passed Mehndi Ghat, the principal ferry between Oudh and Fatehgarh. Fortunately the moon became obscured at the critical moment, and by allowing the boat to drift past they escaped unnoticed. Twice they stuck on sandbanks, the second time severely, with the result that it was light as they approached a spot where enemy guns were said to be posted. Fortune again favoured them, and they found the place deserted. Bithur, where they hoped to meet our troops, was now only ten miles ahead, but it all had to be traversed in daylight. Soon some people bathing at a ghat warned them not to go further, as British troops were at Bithur, and would certainly kill them. Dhanna Singh made careful enquiries as to their exact position, and said that when he got there he would keep well over to the other bank. So close was the boat to their advisers that Probyn and Edwards put their hands over the mouths of the two surviving children, lest they make any sound.

At last they reached Bithur, and safety, as they supposed. In fact, Dhanna Singh had just drawn aside the curtain concealing them under the central thatch, and called them out. Mr. Jones had got up to go out when Mr. Edwards caught him by the leg and asked him to wait a little longer to be on the safe side. Hardly had he done so when the curtain was dropped again and they heard Dhanna Singh hailed by a man on the bank who told him that Bithur had been evacuated by the British and reoccupied by the mutineers. This was their last alarm, though on account of a high wind they had great difficulty in getting alongside the right bank at Cawnpore. The first troops encountered were some Sikhs at the old Magazine. These were about to fire at the boat when Wazir Singh called out to them in Punjabi. From there they drifted on till they came to a steamer moored near our entrenched camp, where an amazed picket of the 84th Foot received them with open arms.

Word was passed up to Mr. Sherer of the I. C. S., and his description of the party is worth repeating. "One morning after breakfast a messenger brought word that some Sahibs had arrived in a boat. I

hastened from my tent to the ghat and found George Probyn (brother of Sir Dighton), his wife, two children, Mr. William Edwards, and Mr. Gavin Jones. They had been saved from the massacres at Fatehgarh by the kindly offices of a Zamindar. Edwards, indeed, did not belong to Fatehgarh, but after many adventures had joined the Probyns. The lady, wonderfully brave and calm, and neatly dressed too, notwithstanding all the privations, stood on the bank, the soldiers attending to the children and trying to reassure them. Mr. Edwards I knew well by name, but had never seen. Mr. Gavin Jones had a bad wound, which he had never been able to get attended to, and was obliged to carry his arm out of his sleeve. The hotel was available for the newcomers, and its seedy equipments seemed to them a dream of comfort and luxury. A curious physical experiment worked itself out. Edwards was of a mercurial temperament, capable of going through anything whilst his nerves were braced up by hope and expectation. Probyn, less excitable, looked in poor health from insufficient food. As soon, however, as he was restored to English diet he picked up at once, while the other, when the tension was relaxed was visibly enfeebled and worn down."

The conduct of Hardeo Baksh Singh towards this party must seem vacillating in the extreme, but it should be borne in mind that there was little real discipline among his followers, many of whom were out for personal advantage, and probably considered him mad not to take advantage of the rewards offered for the heads of the two Collectors. When things were going well for us it was easy to keep this element under control, but a check or prolonged delay increased its voting power considerably. Hardeo Baksh Singh must often have had the greatest difficulty in keeping some of his people quiet. But the thing for which no excuse can be found is the refusal to send the Probyns' goats to Ranjpura, and the prevention of an old woman who used to make a daily journey there through the water to help Mrs. Probyn with the children.

For their services to the refugees several of those mentioned in this narrative were given rewards after the Mutiny. Hardeo Baksh Singh received a K. C. S. I. and was made a Rajah. Baijnath Misr, who had

sent the money to Mr. Edwards, also became a Rajah, and Sita Ram, Kasuri Singh and Puran Singh of Khasaura, and the Ahirs of Ranjpura, all received grants of land. Wazir Singh, Mr. Edwards' faithful servant, also received a grant of land, which will be mentioned later.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RE-OCCUPATION.

ALTHOUGH Fatehgarh was not actually re-occupied until January 1858 there had been one previous movement of British troops in its neighbourhood, and which had involved a successful small operation against the troops of the Nawab of Farrukhabad.

Immediately Delhi fell Sir Archdale Wilson decided to send a column to clear the Duab between the Ganges and the Jumna. The troops detailed for this duty were as under:—

Captain Remmington's Troop of Bengal H. A.		5 6-pr. guns each.
Captain Blunt's	Do.	
No. 17 Field Battery, Bengal Artillery, (Captain Bourchier's).		6 9-pr. guns.

200 Punjab Sappers.

300 of the 9th Lancers (Major Ouvry).

One Squadron each of the 1st (Lieutenant John Watson), 2nd (Lieutenant Dighton Probyn) and 5th (Lieutenant Younghusband) Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse (Lieutenant Hugh Gough) 400 men in all.

8th Foot 212 men.

75th Foot 238 men.

2nd and 4th Punjab Infantry 1200 men.

The total strength of the force, which was placed under the command of Colonel Greathed, 8th Foot, was 2790 men and 16 guns. It was accompanied by Sir George Campbell as Civil Commissioner, and also by Mr. Power, who had been Magistrate at Mainpuri when the outbreak

occurred. The column marched from Delhi on the 24th September, its first halt being at Ghaziabad (then called Ghazi-ud-din Nagar), and it is interesting to note that it was necessary to halt there in order to get rid of the loot which the Native regiments had amassed after the siege of Delhi. The digest of Services of the 8th Foot also records that so weakened were the men by the labour of the siege that no less than fifty-eight cases of fever occurred in its ranks as a result of the twelve mile march. A few days' halt at Bulandshahr, combined with "the fine air of the place," quite restored the men to health and strength. Soon after leaving Delhi the column received frantic appeals for succour from Agra, and turned aside to deal with the situation there. While at Agra, which was reached on the 10th October 1857, information was received that the first relief of Lucknow had merely resulted in the reinforcement of the garrison, and their instructions to re-establish the Government were cancelled. Their new orders were to hurry straight down the Grand Trunk Road to the assistance of Cawnpore and Lucknow. Many felt that this was a faulty policy, as the road behind them would close as soon as they had passed down, and no lasting effect be produced on the rebels in the Duab (particularly the Nawab of Farrukhabad's troops); but the orders were very definite, and only one opportunity occurred to strike them a blow.

From Agra, after a fight, the column marched on the 14th October *via* Ferozabad and Mainpuri. On the 18th, at its camp 24 miles short of the latter place, it was overtaken by Brigadier Hope Grant, who took over command. He had great difficulty in overtaking it, owing to transport arrangements breaking down, and drove into camp in a bullock cart drawn by coolies, no animal transport having been obtainable the previous night. Colonel Greathed then took over the command of the infantry of the column, Major Ouvry of the 9th Lancers remaining in command of the Cavalry. Many accounts state that Hope Grant overtook the column at Ferozabad. But Anson, writing to his wife on the 18th, from Camp 24 miles out of Mainpuri, mentions the surprise of his arrival that morning. As Hope Grant belonged to Anson's Regiment (9th Lancers) there can be little doubt of the correctness of this date.

Mainpuri was a place of some interest to the column. The Rajah had thrown in his lot with the rebels, and Mr. Power, when evacuating the station for Agra, had entrusted the balance in the Treasury, a matter of between Rs. 2 and 3 lakhs, to the Rao Sahib, a relative of the Rajah. This treasure had been deposited in the Fort, where it was now said that the Rajah would make a stand. When a few miles from the town the column was met by the Rao Sahib, who told them that the Rajah was still in the Fort, and that being usually drunk it should be fairly easy to make him a prisoner. After a hot and dusty march of 24 miles the column arrived at about noon on the 19th, only to find that the Rajah had left some twelve hours previously. A party was immediately sent to the Fort, in the forlorn hope of finding the treasure. The Fort was deserted except for some geese and a turkey (which were summarily tried and sentenced to death for dealing with the enemy), though the evacuation had evidently been carried out in a hurry, as all the guns were in position ready loaded, and, most astonishing of all, the treasure was in the same place in which Mr. Power had deposited it, and not a bag was missing. How it had been allowed to remain so long in a small room with a door of open iron bars is difficult to understand.

In addition to the treasure much powder and several well-cast guns were discovered, some of the latter in various stages of manufacture, and some still on the lathes. One, recently finished, was recovered from a well. But the thing which interested Mr. Power most was the question of private property, for when he left for Agra he had, perforce, abandoned all his own, and had not entrusted it to the Rao, or anybody else. He hoped that some of it might be found in the Fort. But in his search he was for a long time badly hampered by the Commissioner, who believed the Rao when he swore that in his part of the Fort there was only his own private property, and nothing belonging to any European. In the end a compromise was reached, and it was agreed that the doors should be opened and a cursory examination made. Almost the first thing that came to view was a box of Power's, containing much-needed clothing! After this the Rao Sahib's stock fell considerably, and the whole place was handed over to the tender mercies of the Prize Agent, and its contents

sold by auction. There was a great deal of stuff to be loaded on to carts, and very few men spared to do it. A man of the 9th Lancers, who had been working very hard, saw the Rao Sahib standing by, no doubt with a mournful expression, and not knowing who he was, siezed him by the neck and pushed him towards the slowly diminishing pile with the remark "Sure, and why shouldn't you carry a load as well as me, you big thief ?"

The Fort was destroyed, and on the morning of the 21st October the column marched for Bewar, where rumour had it they would be opposed by the Nawab's troops. Only a picket was found there, and it fell back on the approach of the British troops. Continuing along the road they heard of the British victory near Cawnpore, and that Bakht Khan, whom they had been following down the road from Delhi, was retreating towards Fatehgarh, and, with some guns, was believed to be still somewhere near Kanauj. On the 22nd October the column marched 28 miles, and on the morning of the 23rd reached the neighbourhood of Kanauj. Captain (Later Lord) Roberts, the D. A. Q. M. G. to Brigadier Hope Grant, was riding on ahead as usual with a small escort, and after passing through the town was fired on from the banks of a stream running into the Ganges. Investigation showed that 300 cavalry, 500 infantry and 4 guns were trying to get away across the Ganges before our arrival. On hearing the firing Hope Grant immediately sent down two Horse Artillery guns and some cavalry. The enemy's guns were soon silenced, and their infantry fled, pursued by our cavalry, with Roberts well in the van. "On we fled" he writes, "Probyn's and Watson's squadrons leading the way in parallel lines about a mile apart. I was with the latter, and we had a running fight till we reached the Ganges, into which plunged those of the sowars whom we had not been able to overtake. We reined up and saw the unlucky fugitives struggling in the water, men and horses rolling over each other : they were gradually carried down by the swiftly running stream, and a very few reached the other bank." Roberts' horse was wounded by a sabre cut in this action, and Watson was also slightly wounded.

Sir George Campbell is rather amusing on the subject of our artillery fire on this occasion. He writes "I saw our guns open upon them where

they were thickly massed on the other side of the narrow stream. It seemed to be the occasion of all others on which an artillery efficiently served, as ours seemed to be, would take deadly effect. Certainly the shot went flying among them and sent them flying in complete rout. I expected to see a ghastly scene of the dead and dying, but, strange to say, scarcely anyone seemed to be left behind. It made me think more than ever that the effect of artillery (of those days at any rate) was more moral than anything else, and that the slaughter was not at all in proportion to the noise." The enemy lost all their guns, and some 200 casualties as well. The column then moved on to Cawnpore and the relief of Lucknow.

On the night of the 22/23rd November 1857 Sir Colin Campbell withdrew the garrison of the Lucknow Residency and, leaving a force under Sir James Outram at Alumbagh, marched for Cawnpore, where his force was concentrated by the 30th November. On the 6th December he severely defeated the Gwalior Contingent near that place, and commenced operations to clear the Duab between the Jumna and the Ganges.

His plan for this was to advance up the road to Fatehgarh with his main force while a smaller column under Brigadier Walpole moved through Etawah and Mainpuri District to Bewar, where it was to join hands with a column under Colonel Seaton, who was escorting a large convoy down the Grand Trunk Road from Delhi. These two columns were then to advance from Bewar to Fatehgarh at the same time that Sir Colin was moving up the road from Gursahaiganj.

Brigadier Walpole's column left Cawnpore on the 18th December. It consisted of Blunt's Troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, No. 17 Light Field Battery (Bourchier's), three squadrons 9th Lancers, one squadron 2nd Punjab Cavalry, the 2nd and 3rd Bns. Rifle Brigade, a detachment of the 38th Foot, the 4th Punjab Infantry, and a Company of Punjab Sappers. According to Bourchier they had a very pleasant time. The populace flocked out to greet them, they had lots of sport, and every evening they lounged about in camp listening to the bands playing the latest opera tunes from Home. The only trouble they had was with the

Agra Government while at Etawah, where Walpole received peremptory orders to leave the greater part of his force at that place. Fortunately he was able to refer the Chief Commissioner to the Commander-in-Chief, under whose orders he was acting. On the 20th December they reached Mainpuri, which Colonel Seaton had left only a day or so previously, and halted there till the 3rd January, when they left for Bewar, arriving on the 5th.

Colonel Seaton's column had left Delhi on the 10th December. Its total strength was 1959 men and 11 guns, made up as follows:—

2 18-pr. guns } Heavy Field Battery. manned by 1 8"-howitzer } Sikh Company, Bengal Artillery. 6 9-pr. Bengal H. A. guns (Bishop's Troop). 2 6-pr. Bengal H. A. guns.	} 233 men.
One Squadron 6th Carabineers. Detachment 9th Lancers.	} 140 men.
Hodson's Horse.	550 men.
1st. European Bengal Fusiliers.	376 men.
7th Punjab Infantry.	540 men.
Two Companies Punjab Sappers.	120 men.

This force had to escort "to Cawnpore or elsewhere" a convoy of grain and stores, with cattle and camp followers. On reaching Aligarh it received a reinforcement of 100 men of the 3rd European Bengal Regiment under the command of Major Eld, and two more Companies of Punjab Sappers. Seaton discovered that when his entire convoy was concentrated at Aligarh it would consist of 80 elephants, 16,000 bullocks, 8,000 camels, 1,500 camp followers, and 4,500 bullock carts of four or six bullocks each, and that the carts alone would cover over eighteen miles of road, the tents and baggage of the escorting troops adding at least another mile. As the country to be traversed was full of bands of armed men, some of them large and well organised, with cavalry and guns, he decided that the only method of safeguarding the convoy with the small force at his disposal was to move it by bounds, leaving it with a small guard in successive places, while he went on with the greater part

of the escort to disperse bodies of the enemy of which he received information. It was in order to ensure getting this vital information that he had insisted on having Hodson and his Irregular Horse with him, instead of another much stronger regiment which had been detailed originally.

Parking his convoy at Aligarh, Seaton moved out towards Kasganj on the 12th December, having been informed that a body of rebels was threatening a small force, consisting of some 300 of the Baluch Battalion and some artillery, under Colonel Farquhar of the Baluch Battalion, near that place. On arrival at Gangiri on the Kali Nadi, which was spanned by a suspension bridge at that point, Seatons' force immediately crossed the river and occupied a strong position. Hodson himself was sent out on a reconnaissance, and soon sent back word that enemy cavalry was advancing on both flanks. This news interrupted the troops' breakfast, but they were soon fallen in and drawn up in line. Seaton's position was some 800 yards down a reverse slope from the enemy, who imagined they were attacking Colonel Farquhar's small force. The dust raised by our eight Horse Artillery guns dashing into their positions further prevented the rebels from realising the actual state of affairs until they were thoroughly committed to the action. In the result they fled precipitately, leaving all their guns and ammunition wagons, and throwing away their arms. One 9-pr. and two 6-pr. guns were captured and brought back to camp, where the troops resumed their interrupted breakfasts at 3 p. m., except the Cavalry, who pursued for several miles. Unfortunately our casualties had been heavier than usual. In charging the guns the Carabineers had lost 3 officers (Captain Wardlaw and Lieutenants Hudson and Vyse) and 6 men killed, and their fourth officer and 15 men wounded. Hodson's Horse lost one Native Officer and 3 men killed and 19 men wounded. This action took place on the 14th December.

Seaton followed up that next day, *via* Sahawar, and on the afternoon of the 16th heard that the rebels were in force at Patiali. Starting on the 17th as soon as it was light, he made a flank attack on their left, which was protected only by some cavalry who retired as soon as the artillery started to shell them. The infantry advance was again hidden

by the shape of the ground, and the attack was a complete success, the rebels being unable to stand our enfilade artillery fire. They fled, with the cavalry and artillery in pursuit for seven miles. As soon as the enemy was observed to be limbering up his guns, Colonel Seaton and his staff, escorted by a troop of Hodson's Horse, dashed forward, sabring the gunners, who were completely taken by surprise, and capturing the guns with a loss of one man only. Thirteen or fourteen guns were taken in this action, and the rebels' losses amounted to about 600 men, very few of whom were Sepoys. Many were driven into the Bur Ganga, where they were drowned or cut down. Everything the ememy had fell into our hands. Hodson overtook the elephant of the Commander-in-Chief of the Nawab of Farrukhabad, complete with silver howdah, and having killed its owner sent it back to Seaton, who subsequently rode it through the streets of Farrukhabad City, where it caused a sensation. Another important capture was a very handsomely illuminated letter from the Nawab of Farrukhabad to the King of Delhi, reminding the latter that the writer's ancestors had been in possession of fifty-two pargànnahs, and praying that when His Majesty had driven the English out of India he would be pleased to restore to him his ancestral possessions. A copy of this was produced at the trial of the Nawab, but Seaton was allowed to keep the original, which hung, framed and glazed, in his house.

This victory completely restored our authority in the surrounding country. Of the guns captured in the two fights six were of our own manufacture and very valuable. Seaton halted for three days to allow the civil authorities to establish themselves, and then returned towards Kasganj. On the 22nd December, when nearing that place, information was received that a pensioned Risaldar Jawahir Khan, who was a member of the Order of British India and drawing the extra pension attached to it, but had fought against us at Patiali, had returned to his house at Kasganj with one son who had been wounded. Hodson was at once sent off to try and capture him. The son was killed, and the Risaldar, in trying to escape, jumped over a wall into the arms of some of Hodson's men. He was tried next day by a military tribunal, and blown from a

gun. The rebel forces in both these actions were those of the Nawab of Farrukhabad.

From Kasganj Seaton sent the captured guns back to Aligarh, with a small escort under Major Eld to bring on the convoy, and proceeded to Etah to await its arrival. While there he heard that the Rajah of Mainpuri, Tej Singh, was determined to fight. He had taken up a position across the Kurauli-Mainpuri road, but Seaton managed to take it in flank and rear. On realising this the enemy fled, leaving 8 guns (6 of them serviceable) on the field. The fort was occupied without any opposition, and found to contain an excellent gun foundry, in which was a new 8″ howitzer of our own make, which had never been fired. The column halted at Mainpuri till the 31st December, and on the 30th Hodson and Macdowell made their famous ride to Sir Colin Campbell on the Grand Trunk Road.

Leaving Mainpuri on the morning of the 30th with 75 sowars, they halted at Bewar for food, and dropped 50 of their men to await their return. Fourteen miles further on, at Chhibramau, they dropped their remaining 25 men, and rode on alone to Gursahaiganj, another fourteen miles, where they had hoped to find Sir Colin. Finding that he was at Sarai Miran, another fifteen miles, they continued as fast as they could, as 700 of the enemy, with 4 guns, were said to be within two miles. They reached Sarai Miran at 4 a. m. on the 31st, and at 8 p. m., after dining with the Commander-in-Chief, started their ride back. Five miles short of Chhibramau they were met by a Brahmin to whom Hodson had given alms that morning. From him they learnt that during their absence some hostile cavalry had reached the place, attacked the sowars left there, killing some and driving off the rest, and were still close to the village. After a hurried consultation they decided to ride on and take the risk of discovery. Subsequent events are best told in Macdowell's own words.

"The native came with us, and we started. I have seen a few adventures in my time, but must confess this was the most trying I have

engaged in. It was a piercingly cold night, with a bright moon and a wintry sky, and a cold wind every now and then sweeping by and chilling us to the very marrow. Taking our horses off the hard road on to the side where it was soft, so that the noise of their foot falls should be less distinctly heard, we silently went on our way, anxiously listening for every sound that fell on our ears, and straining our eyes to see if, behind the dark trees dotted along the road, we could discern the forms of the enemy waiting in an ambush to seize us. We proceeded till close to Chhibramau. 'They are there' said our guide in a whisper, pointing to a garden in a clump of trees to our right front. Distinctly we heard a faint hum in the distance—whether it was the enemy or whether our imaginations conjured up the sound I know not. We slowly and silently passed through the village, in the main street of which we saw the dead body of one of our men lying stiff and stark and ghastly in the moonlight; and on emerging from the other side dismissed our guide with directions to come to our camp—and then, putting spurs to our horses, we galloped for dear life to Bewar, breathing more freely as every stride bore us away from the danger now happily past. We reached Bewar at 2 a. m., and found a party of our men sent out to look for us."

The double journey, from Mainpuri and back to Bewar, amounted to 94 miles, of which each had done 72 on one horse, Hodson on a dun called Rufus, and Macdowell on Alma. Their informant duly reported in camp and was handsomely rewarded, as well as being given Government employment. It was afterwards discovered that in addition to their escape at night they had had another very fortunate one on their outward journey. The rebels who had attacked the Chhibramau party had come from Etawah, whence they had been driven by Walpole's column, and had actually ridden into one end of Chhibramau as Hodson and his small party had entered it from the other. The rebels were not seen, but supposing that the party was the advanced guard of Seaton's column they beat a hasty retreat to a village four or five miles away. From there they sent out spies, and finding only 25 men in the place continued their march, detaching a small party to attack the sowars in the village and, perhaps, to await the return of the two officers.

The convoy reached Bewar safely, and on the 2nd January Seaton went, riding and driving a gig, to see Sir Colin who had just forced the crossing of the Kali Nadi. Here he received orders to prepare part of his convoy to proceed to Fatehgarh under the escort of Bdr. Walpole's force. He immediately secured all the boats in the neighbourhood in order to reconstruct the bridge (near Madanpur) which had been dismantled by the rebels. On the 4th January he marched with a portion of the convoy to Fatehgarh, arriving near that place on the 5th. The remainder of the convoy was left at Bewar in charge of the 7th Punjab Infantry—Bdr. Walpole's force reached Bewar on the 5th January, and followed Seaton up the road with the remainder of the convoy. Both columns joined Sir Colin in Fatehgarh on the 6th.

We must now return to the operations of the main column under the command of Sir Colin Campbell himself. The Infantry of the force which he was taking to Fatehgarh was as under:—

3rd Brigade (Greathed's).

8th Foot. 64th Foot. 2nd Punjab Infantry.

4th Brigade (Adrian Hope's).

42nd Highlanders. 53rd Foot. 93rd Highlanders. 4th Punjab Infy.

5th Brigade (Hale's).

23rd Fusliers. 82nd Foot.

His artillery consisted of the Heavy guns of the Naval Brigade, Remmington's Troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, and Smith's Light Field Battery, R. A. For Cavalry he had the 9th Lancers, a Squadron 5th Punjab Cavalry (Lieutenant Younghusband), and a Squadron of Hodson's Horse (Lieutenant Hugh Gough). He also had a detachment of Punjab Sappers.

On the 8th December 1857 he had despatched from Cawnpore to Bithur the following force under Hope Grant:—

Remmington's Troop, Horse Artillery ...	83 men, 5 guns.
Smith's Field Battery	139 men, 6 guns.

9th Lancers	...	...	... 327 men.
5th Punjab Cavalry ...		...	... 85 men.
Hodson's Horse	...	...	... 109 men.
42nd Highlanders	...	...	... 403 men.
53rd Foot	...	...	... 413 men.
93rd Highlanders	...	...	... 806 men.
4th Punjab Infantry		...	... 332 men.
Punjab Sappers	...	...	... 100 men.

A total of 2,797 men and 11 guns. This force had orders to proceed to Bithur, but if they heard of the presence of the enemy at Serai Ghat, 25 miles above Cawnpore, they might go to that place. On the way Hope Grant received information which caused him to turn off the Grand Trunk Road and proceed to Sheorajpur, three miles from Serai Ghat. Halting during darkness, he reached the Ghat at daylight on the 9th December. Here he found the enemy on the point of embarking their guns, numbering fifteen, and immediately ordered up his cavalry and guns. The latter had great difficulty in getting along the track running under the bank of the river, as in places it ran through a sort of quicksand. Eventually two guns of the Field Battery were got into position and came into action under a severe fire from thirteen of the enemy's guns. Soon afterwards Captain Remmington's Troop dashed up, and getting into an advantageous position, covered by the bank of a ditch, poured on the enemy a flanking fire which, together with that of the remainder of the Field Battery which had come up, in half an hour's time completely silenced the rebels' fire and put them in full retreat. Some of their cavalry now came up and tried to capture our guns, but the 9th Lancers under Major Ouvry, the 5th Punjab Cavalry under Lieutenant Younghusband, and Hodson's Horse under Lieutenant Hugh Gough, the whole under Brigadier Little, advanced and drove them away. All the enemy's guns, 15 in number, were captured, though difficulty was experienced in getting them away through th. sand.

Sir Colin's own advance from Cawnpore was delayed owing to a shortage of transport, a large quantity of which had been despatched to Allahabad with women, children and wounded from Lucknow. This transport returned to Cawnpore on the 23rd December, and Sir Colin set out on the 24th. On the 25th he was rejoined by Hope Grant with the artillery and cavalry from Bithur, Adrian Hope's Infantry Brigade having been left to search the ferries over the Ganges and to destroy as many boats as possible.

On this day Sir Hugh Gough records the following rather surprising incident. "I was much struck, one day's march out of Cawnpore, at coming across a kafila of Afghan traders, with their long string of camels, laden with dried fruits, boxes of grapes, skins, and the inevitable white Persian cat, moving quietly along the high road on their way to Calcutta, just as if nothing had occurred to disturb the peace of the country or to endanger their traffic. No one had touched them or looted them, and they seemed to have no dread of any such mishap, and I have no doubt they found their way down in safety and realised their usual gains, and possibly more."

On the 28th a force under Major General Windham (a Light Field Battery, an 8" howitzer manned by the Naval Brigade, some Sappers, a Squadron of Hodson's Horse, the 23rd Fusiliers and 82nd Foot) was sent from Araul to destroy the Fort of the Rajah of Thattia. This force rejoined the column at Gursahaiganj on the 1st January. The officer in charge of the demolitions was Major Nicholson, R. E., whose diary has been made available by the kindness of his son, Brigadier O. H. L. Nicholson, C. M. G., D. S. O. The work took three days, the charges of powder varying from ten to four hundred pounds. There was no need to husband the explosive, as 4,115 lbs. had been found in the fort. At 4 p. m. on the 30th December the last charges were fired, and the fort no longer existed. The column had halted on the 28th and 29th December in order to allow Adrian Hope's Brigade to catch up, which it did on the 29th from Bithur, where it had been engaged in a search for the Nana's treasure. Vast quantities of this were reported to have been

thrown down wells, and a considerable amount was recovered. On the 30th Sir Colin was at Sarai Miran, where Hodson brought him Seaton's despatches.

On the same date the 42nd Highlanders, with two Field Guns and a Squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry under Captain Probyn, marched to the Ganges with a view to destroying some boats which the rebels might have used for ferrying purposes. On the way they had to cross two streams which were so deep that the infantry had to hold their arms and accoutrements above their heads in order to keep them dry. At one of them ramps had to be made before the guns could get down to the water's edge, after which some fifty of the Highlanders stripped and returned to help drag the guns across. On arriving at the Ganges the boats were found to be at the other side, and as the river was too wide for artillery fire to be effective the force had to return without accomplishing its mission. The next day, the 31st December, the whole force marched to Gursahaiganj, but Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, 42nd Highlanders, with Probyn and some of his sowars, returned to the Ganges and bribed some natives to swim across to the boats and set fire to them. This was successfully accomplished.

On the 1st January 1858 Adrian Hope's Brigade, reinforced by a Squadron of Cavalry, two 24-prs. and an 8" howitzer under Lieutenant Vaughan, R. N., of the Naval Brigade, four Light Field Battery guns, and a company of Engineers, was sent forward to the Kali Nadi, five miles north of Gursahaiganj, information having been received that the enemy was destroying the suspension bridge over the river just south of Khudaganj. On reaching the bridge at 10-30 a. m. the enemy was found still working on it, but retired as soon as our troops appeared. Had they worked all night the bridge would probably have been completely destroyed, but they had knocked off at nightfall, and all that had been done was to remove and burn a large number of the planks which formed the roadway, leaving a gap of 35 feet. The piers and chains were still intact. Major Nicholson's diary gives the following interesting details regarding the bridge. "The bridge was a suspension one in five spans,

with nine tension rods in each span. The roadway was constructed with 8-inch square beams suspended from the main chains by means of rods, and the superstructure was formed of 3 inch planking laid over the beams in the direction of the bridge, and then covered again by 1½ inch laid across the bridge. I applied to Captain Peel, R. N., for men to assist us in suspending the beams, and these he kindly lent to me. All that portion of the work therefore was done by the sailors, but the rest was completed by our own men, who worked indefatigably from twelve at night until its completion." Some of the material necessary for the repairs was obtained by dismantling a timber and earth breastwork which the sepoys had erected between the bridge and the village of Khudaganj.

The Digest of Services of the 42nd Highlanders contains the following delightful entry. "This being New Year's day, the Captains of Companies gave their men an extra glass of grog, free."

Brigadier Hope's orders were to drive away the enemy and to repair the bridge in readiness for an advance by the whole force on the next day. Work was started immediately, and the footway was soon in suitable condition to send across a strong picket of the 53rd Foot as a protection for the Sappers. These worked so well, ably assisted by the sailors of the Naval Brigade and working parties of the 53rd, that by 7-30 a. m. on the 2nd January the bridge was fit for the careful passage of all arms, including the 24-pounders.

The Naval Brigade was formed of members of the crew of H. M. S. "Shannon," which was in Calcutta. It was commanded by Captain Sir William Peel, R. N., and had an original strength of 720 men, excluding officers. It brought with it six 64-pounders, two 24-pounders, and two 9-pounder field guns. The heavy guns in particular were invaluable on many occasions, as for a long time there was no other heavy artillery available. The men of the Brigade (which provided infantry on occasion, as well as gunners) appear to have interested the Natives as much as the Highland Brigade did. Sir George Campbell records that they were described as men "four feet high, four feet broad, and of enormous

strength, who carried 24-pounder guns on their shoulders." They were accompanied on this march by a half-pay Captain named Oliver Jones who, being at a loose end, had joined them at Allahabad "for a lark." Their guns, when on the march, were drawn by twenty-two bullocks or two elephants. Lieutenant Verney speaks feelingly of this form of transport. "If a gun sticks in the mud it becomes a most serious matter, as it is no easy task to persuade eleven pairs of bullocks to pull together. But by taking them out, manning the wheels and drag ropes with blue-jackets, and having an elephant to push behind with his forehead, we never fail to extricate a gun from the worst swamp. Our guns and ammunition follow in rear of the Brigade under the charge of a Lieutenant with a strong guard; the small arm ammunition is carried on camels in charge of a midshipman with a small guard," thereby maintaining a correct sense of proportion!

The bridge having been made fit for use, the sailors were washing their clothes in the stream, and Sir Colin and his staff had ridden forward from Gursahaiganj to inspect the work, having left orders for the rest of the force to follow later in the day. As he arrived he noticed a lot of men in white on the rising ground on the far side of the river, round the village of Khudaganj. The village is about 700 yards from the bridge, and in front of it was a small square building which turned out to be a toll-house. It is still in existence, and is said to be haunted. Taking these men for villagers, he had just directed someone to tell them they had nothing to fear, when a heavy artillery and musketry fire was opened on the picket of the 53rd, and it became evident that the whole of the Nawab's forces, some 5,000 strong, had come out from Fatehgarh to oppose Sir Colin's advance. (See Map IV).

As soon as the true state of affairs was realised Sir Colin sent back orders for the troops at Gursahaiganj to push on at once, and directed Hope to hold the bridge until their arrival, but on no account to advance against the enemy until he received orders to do so. Hope immediately sent the rest of the 53rd across the bridge to reinforce and support the picket. They found a certain amount of cover among mounds and ridges

of earth, and clumps of tall grass on the far bank, and opened a very effective fire on the enemy. The Headquarters and seven companies of the 93rd Highlanders were held in reserve on the south side of the bridge, and the remaining three companies of the right wing of the regiment were detached with two Horse Artillery guns and a small escort of Punjab Cavalry to guard a ford further down stream.

Until the arrival of the main body at about noon, operations were mainly confined to an artillery duel, although the enemy's infantry advanced a certain distance from the village against the pickets of the 53rd Foot. A battery of our Field Artillery (Captain Smith's, R. A.), had now opened fire, with Peel's two 24-pounders and 8″ howitzer, from our side of the river against the village, over the heads of the 53rd on the other bank.

As soon as the main body arrived the 8th and 64th Foot were sent across the bridge to reinforce the 53rd Foot. The 42nd Highlanders were ordered to relieve the 7 companies of the 93rd, in order that they might return to their camp, about a mile down the road, strike and pack their tents, and let the men have their dinners. When all this had been done the 93rd were to cross the bridge and relieve the 53rd and other troops on that side of the river, in order that they also might retire and have their dinners before the general advance of the whole force. It is curious to notice on what a number of occasions in this campaign an action was either delayed or broken off in order to allow the troops to have their hot meal. The " unexpended portion of the day's ration " seems to have been unknown at this period.

When the infantry on the north side of the bridge had thus been reinforced, Vaughan took his 24-pounders and 8″ howitzer across and gave his serious attention to silencing the guns which the enemy had brought up during the morning and were using to some effect. While he was thus occupied and, aided by the Field Battery on the south side of the river, had managed to bring about a considerable slackening of the enemy's artillery fire, the latter brought up, between 2 and 3 p. m., an 18-pounder which they posted in the toll-house already mentioned,

with its muzzle sticking through the window. The fire of this gun caused a lot of damage, one shot alone causing 6 casualties amongst the men of the 8th Foot. One shot also took off both legs of Private Blazer, the soldier servant of Major (later General Sir William) Payn, who was commanding the 53rd at the time. The man was a great favourite, and the episode made the men of the 53rd "very savage". It completely enfiladed the bridge, and Vaughan proceeded to tackle the gun himself. The following, taken from "The Shannon's Brigade in India", is an eye-witness' account of the result of his efforts. "His first shot struck the roof of the house; his second struck the angle of the wall about half way down, and the third dismounted the gun and destroyed the carriage. Capt. Peel, who was standing by, said 'Thank you Mr. Vaughan. Perhaps you will now be so good as to blow up the tumbril.' Lieut. Vaughan fired a fourth shot, which passed near it, and a fifth which blew it up and killed several of the enemy. 'Thank you,' said Peel in his blandest and most courteous tones, 'I will now go and report to Sir Colin.'

In the meanwhile the rest of the force had been crossing the bridge, a slow and tedious process, especially for the cavalry, as the roadway was by no means perfect, and horses had to be led across. Some of the cavalry, including the squadron of Hodson's Horse, had been sent up stream to cross by a ford about a quarter of a mile away. Everyone was awaiting the final forming up for the assault on Khudaganj when the 53rd Foot took matters into their own hands, brow-beat a bugler into sounding first the 'advance' and then the 'double', and with a resounding cheer dashed at the enemy, who were already showing signs of retiring on seeing our preparations for assault. There was a feeling in the army that Sir Colin, himself a 93rd Highlander, was inclined to favour the Highland Brigade, and the rumour having reached the 53rd that the 93rd were about to relieve them (they were actually on the point of crossing the bridge at the time), the former decided that on this occasion at least the Highland Brigade should not have the honour. It may be mentioned that at the time the 53rd had a very large proportion of Irishmen in its ranks.

Major Payn, in a letter written from Fatehgarh on January 4th, describes the episode of the advance as follows:—"At about 2 o'clock, after having been under fire for upwards of five hours, word was sent to us that the 93rd Higlanders were coming to relieve us. But our men had sworn to avenge poor Blazer's death, and take the gun that had been bullying us for so long. I was returning from visiting my left skirmishers, when I was astonished to hear a cheer, and on riding to the front saw all the men on the right dashing into the village. Of course, I was soon amongst them, never dreaming that they had advanced without orders. The gun was taken at once, and the men rushed forward to the far side of the village, and there was the enemy drawn up with cavalry and infantry on the road about 400 yards in advance. It was a nervous moment, I was the senior officer with about 300 men, and then knew that the men had advanced without orders. But there was no holding them; the sight of the enemy had made them furious. So I again threw them out into skirmishing order, got together about 50 men as a support, and sent back to Major Inglis to advance with all speed with the Regiment. The men still pressed on, the enemy slowly retired and brought a gun to bear on us; but instead of stopping our advance, the men rushed on, and, after discharging their gun five times, the enemy bolted and we took possession of the gun. Three times during the advance had A.D.Cs. galloped up from Sir Colin with orders to halt; but it was just as easy to stay the progress of an avalanche. I stormed, threatened, implored and, I am afraid, swore, but all to no purpose, and it was only in God's mercy that the Pandies had no pluck, or a charge of their cavalry would have swept us from the face of the earth."

Sir Colin was extremely angry, but as there was no recalling the 53rd, he could only push on Hope's and Greathed's troops in their support. The cavalry also were ordered to mount. The 93rd Highlanders crossed the bridge and followed the 53rd on the right, while Greathed's Brigade extended the line to the left. From Forbes-Mitchell's account it appears that the three remaining companies of the 93rd, which had been sent to watch the ford, had crossed and come upstream and rejoined the remainder of the regiment.

The Commander-in-Chief now rode up to the 53rd, who had got through the villages, and proceeded to "tick them off". Payn says "We caught it over the face and eyes." There are different versions of what happened. The most common is that whenever he opened his mouth the Irishmen called for, and gave, three hearty cheers, so that eventually Sir Colin had to laugh and go away saying to his staff "You would cheer too, if you were not afraid of me!" Sergt. Forbes-Mitchell of the 93rd, whose regiment was close behind the 53rd, says that Sir Colin rode up to bring their C.O. to book, but that officer threw the blame on his men, the officers being unable to keep them back. Sir Colin then turned on the men, threatening to send them to the rear to do baggage guard and fatigue duty for the rest of the campaign. On this an Irishman called out "Shure Sir Colin, you don't mean it! You'll never send us on fatigue duty because we captured those guns the Pandies were carrying off?" Sir Colin asked what guns he meant. "Shure, them's, the guns" was the answer. "that Sergeant Dobbin (later Joe Lee, the hotel keeper in Cawnpore) and his section are dragging on to the road." Sir Colin seeing the guns, his stern countenance relaxed into a smile, and he made some remark to the officer commanding that he did not know about the guns having been withdrawn before the regiment had made a rush at the enemy. On this the Irishman from the ranks called out "Three cheers for the Commander-in-Chief boys! I told you he did not mean us to let the Pandies carry off those guns.!" It is an open question, then, whether the 53rd made their dash because the 93rd were going to relieve them, or because they saw the enemy were removing their guns, or to avenge their comrade, or a combination of all three. But with regard to the "ticking-off" it is permissible to wonder whether the Australians in Egypt, who "counted out" a General they did not like whenever he tried to address them, were acquainted with the first version given above. It should be mentioned, at the risk of spoiling a good story, that Captain Oliver Jones, who was messing with the 53rd, states that he heard the tale of the cheering often told and as often denied.

As soon as our whole line of infantry had begun its advance, and the enemy was observed to be limbering up his guns and retiring, Hope Grant

took his cavalry, which had been sheltering behind some mounds close to the river bank, by a wide detour to the left, and trotted them parallel to the road, hidden from the enemy by high crops and groves of trees, gradually closing in on them as they retreated in good order, until he had narrowed the distance to some 300 yards. He then wheeled to the right and sounded the 'Charge.' The 9th Lancers, followed by the Sikhs, fell on the rebel flank and dashed into their midst. The enemy stood for a moment and then fled in confusion. Forbes-Mitchell says that while the cavalry was working round the enemy's flank the line of infantry, the 8th, 42nd, 53rd and left wing of the 93rd, were allowed to advance, keeping touch with the enemy, to do which they had to maintain a sort of double shuffle.

The enemy retired in an orderly manner for some distance, when they formed up to make a stand, apparently thinking that the infantry was afraid to press them too closely. "As soon as they faced round again our line was halted only about 700 yards from them, and just then we could see our cavalry debouching on to the Trunk Road about a mile from where we were. My company was in the centre of the road, and I could see the tips of the lances of the 9th wheeling into line for a charge right on the enemy's rear. The excitement just then was intense, as we dared not fire for fear of hitting our own men in the rear. The 41st N. I. was the principal regiment of the enemy's line on the road. Directly they saw the Lancers in their rear they formed square, while the enemy's cavalry charged our men, but were met in fine style by Hodson's Horse and sent flying across the fields in all directions. The 9th came down on the square of the 41st, who stood their ground and opened fire. The Lancers charged well up to within 30 yards, when the horses turned off right and left from the solid square. We were just preparing to charge it with the bayonet when the squadrons were brought round again, just as a hawk takes a circle for a swoop on its prey, and we saw Sergeant Major May, who was mounted on a powerful untrained horse, dash on the square and leap right into it, followed by the squadron on that side. The square being thus broken the other troops of the 9th rode into the flying mass, and in less than five minutes the 41st N. I was wiped out of the ranks of

the mutineers." Mitchell then proceeds to give his views on the reason for the first charge of the 9th turning off. He ascribes it to the custom on field days of never charging up to a square, for reasons of safety, and considers that horses trained to behave thus in peace will inevitably do the same in war, being insufficiently educated to be able to realise the difference. He considers that the final success was due to Sergeant-Major May being mounted on a charger which had not learnt the principles of "Safety first."

The pursuit of the enemy was continued for some five miles, until the light began to fail. Lord Roberts, who was at the time D. A. Q. M. G to Hope Grant's cavalry brigade, thus describes the pursuit in "Forty-one Years in India." "When within 300 yards of the fugitives the charge was sounded, and in a few seconds we were in their midst. A regular melee ensued, a number of the rebels were killed, and seven guns were captured in less than as many minutes. The General now formed the cavalry into line, and placing himself at the head of his own regiment [9th Lancers] followed up the flying foe. I rode a little to his left with Younghusband's squadron [5th Punjab Cavalry]. The chase was continued for nearly five miles, until daylight began to fail and we appeared to have got to the end of the fugitives, when the order was given to wheel to the right and form up on the road. Before this movement could be carried out we overtook a batch of mutineers, who faced about and fired into the squadron at close quarters. I saw Younghusband fall, but could not go to his assistance, as at that moment one of his sowars was in dire peril from a sepoy who was attacking him with his fixed bayonet, and had I not helped the man and disposed of his opponent he must have been killed. The next moment I descried in the distance two sepoys making off with a Standard, which I determined must be captured, so I rode after the rebels and overtook them. While wrenching the staff out of the hands of one of them, whom I cut down, the other put his musket close to my body and fired. Fortunately for me it missed fire, and I carried off the Standard."

For these two acts Roberts was awarded the Victoria Cross. A small commemorative monument was erected near the road at 13 miles 3 furlongs

from Fatehgarh by J. F. Sale Esq., I. C. S., the District Magistrate, in 1928. The inscription reads :—

NEAR THIS SPOT IN THE
BATTLE OF THE KALI NADI
ON JANUARY, 2ND, 1858,
LIEUT. F. ROBERTS
OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY
AFTERWARDS FIELD-MARSHAL
EARL ROBERTS, K. G.,
WON THE VICTORIA CROSS.

Actually the spot at which he won the Cross must have been some four miles nearer Fatehgarh, but it is understood that difficulties in connection with the acquisition of the plot of land for the Memorial prevented its erection nearer to the correct position.

According to Captain Oliver Jones, Younghusband's body was brought into Fatehgarh and buried in the Fort Cemetery. There is, however, no commemorative stone, and nothing to show which grave is his.

Eight guns were captured in this action, three of them being 18-pounders, which for some reason had been painted light blue with bands of yellow at intervals. In addition to the Standard taken by Roberts, which belonged to the Oudh Irregular Horse, the 9th Lancers acquired the Colours of the 10th Oudh Irregulars. Anson refers to them thus. "We had, somehow or other, got hold of the exceedingly elegant Colours of the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, the Queen's Colour of which is beautifully embroidered in the centre. Large silk Colours they are, about two and a half yards square." Writing the next day he says, "Hope Grant has presented Sir Colin Cambell, in the name of the regiment, with the beautiful Queen's Colour that belonged to the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry." Roberts also presented the Standard of the Oudh Irregular Horse to Sir Colin. Our losses during the day were very light, amounting to 10 men killed, and 2 officers and 30 men wounded. One of the officers, Younghusband, and two men, died of their wounds.

Alexander thus describes the enemy engaged in the battle. "The artillerymen and the native infantry sepoys were all dressed in their old blue or scarlet British tunics, with loin-cloths, however, instead of trousers, and oriental shoes. There were also a few of the East India Company's old regular native cavalry, dressed in light blue uniforms, who had retained their trousers, As in all the stations where they had originally mutinied they always took the lead in murdering officers and ladies so, in the field against us, they were always the first to fly, and were seldom caught. On this occasion, before the infantry was halted, we had the gratification of seeing that several of these burly cut-throat cowards had been overtaken by our avenging horsemen, and paid the penalty of their crimes. We were halted about three miles from Khudaganj, and afterwards moved on another half mile before the camping ground for the night was decided on."

After the cavalry had attended to their wounded they formed up and returned to camp along the road, with the captured Colours and Standard at their head, and almost every man carrying some trophy of the chase. They received a great ovation from the Infantry as they reached camp at the village of Patti, the Highlanders waving their bonnets, and Sir Colin congratulating them as they passed him.

During the day there had been several very narrow escapes. Sir Colin had been hit in the stomach by a spent musket ball, which fortunately did no more than wind him. The night before the action a Sapper officer named Watson had been into the village of Khudaganj and arranged with the headman for 150 coolies to be forthcoming the next morning to help repair the bridge. On the morning of the action he received a message to say that they were ready, and would be handed over to any officer who came to take delivery. Fortunately for Watson the message struck him as being so strange as to be suspicious, and he did not go, or he would most certainly have lost his life. After the action Captain Peel, accompanied by Captain Oliver Jones, three men of the 53rd and one or two sailors, was moving through one of the narrow streets of Khudaganj when the party was suddenly attacked by five sepoys who sprang out of the ditches at either side of the road. There

was a desperate struggle for some minutes before the sepoys were disposed of, the last being shot by Captain Jones.

Although the troops reached the camping ground at dusk or soon after, the transport was very much later, being seriously delayed in crossing the bridge. Verney thus describes the Naval Brigade's experience. "We reached the camping ground at about 9-30 p. m. and parked our battery in a ploughed field, but no baggage or provisions had arrived except the spirits, a cask of which is always carried on some old limbers and, under the charge of two quartermasters, is always foremost in the field or on the march. Nearly famished, we ate every crumb in our haversacks, and I deemed myself lucky when I discovered two or three bile-wallahs making chuppatties, one of which I bought for a rupee, and halved with a tent mate." No doubt the bile-wallahs thought themselves lucky too! The elephants with the tents arrived at midnight, having probably avoided the congestion at the bridge by fording the stream, but the carts did not get in till 4 a. m., and the Navy sat down to dinner an hour later.

The next morning the column marched for Fatehgarh at 11 a. m., after all the stores and baggage had been got across the bridge. During the advance from Cawnpore, Lieutenant Patrick Stewart of the Bengal Engineers had been busy erecting a telegraph line along the road, and this reached Fatehgarh with the troops. Of the march in to Fatehgarh Alexander says "The trading community in this part of the country seemed very glad to see us, and lined the roads carrying vessels, some full of milk and some of water, which they offered to our thirsty men as they marched along. The natives everywhere we went were very much impressed by the costume of the 93rd and 42nd, and whether we were on the march or in camp they crowded to look at us. Where crowds would watch us on parade in camp they would take no notice of the other troops, and we learnt from our native servants that they had invented fearsome stories of the Gogra-wallahs, *i. e.* petticoated men—imputing to us a liking for curried black babies, especially if we could catch them ourselves and break their backs across our bare knees!".

The column reached Fatehgarh without opposition, but expecting to find the Fort held, or at least all the valuable gun-carriage factory stores burnt or otherwise destroyed. But such was the panic caused by the defeat at Khudaganj that the rebels' only thought had been to get across the Ganges into Rohilkhand, and the tail end of the rout was observed crossing the bridge as our leading troops reached the Fort. No attempt even was made to destroy the bridge behind them, and a strong bridge-head was at once formed to secure the means of crossing in pursuit when such a course should appear desirable. The Fort was undefended—possibly the 41st N. I. had realised its weaknesses, in spite of their inability to take it when defended by only thirty odd men—but the gate was shut, and when it was burst open one of our own 10″ howitzers, doubly loaded with grape, was found inside commanding the entrance. None of the Government property had been destroyed, nor the timber removed, and the steam engines, and such guns as there were, were in good order. The rebels had established a gun and shot and shell factory in the Fort, which was abandoned with a number of brass guns half turned in the lathes, many more just cast, and large quantities of material for the manufacture of powder and shot. The only damage which appears to have been done was to some temporary workshops outside the Fort. Anson, writing from Fatehgarh on the 4th January, says "Here we arrived at about 3-30 p. m. yesterday. There is a tope of considerable extent lining the parade ground, where we are pitched, and this tope was made use of as a convenient shelter for innumerable workshops in wood and iron connected with the gun-carriage agency. All these workshops were made of temporary materials, wood and thatch, and underneath the tope all sorts of buggies, carriages, boxes and loot of every description, including ladies' dresses and crochet work, were heaped up in mad confusion. The brutes set fire to the tope, and it and everything under it blazed and crackled away sky high. On our arrival there were mountainous heaps all smouldering away, and a blaze here and there. Our people set to and brought away half-burnt buggies, palkee gharries, chairs, portmanteaux, dresses, boxes, etc., everything, in fact, you can imagine."

Fatehgarh was now re-occupied, and the enemy driven across the river. It remained to settle the countryside and decide on the next operations to be undertaken.

CHAPTER X.

THE NAWAB'S ADMINISTRATION.

BEFORE proceeding with the British operations it will be as well to consider the manner in which the District had been run from June to December of 1857, during which period the Nawab had been in undisputed control. The Nawab himself, Tafazzul Hussain Khan, was weak, but he was speedily surrounded by the inevitable vultures. His own tastes ran to painting and illuminating, and he seems to have preferred dancing girls to soldiers. These tastes naturally gave greater scope to the vultures aforesaid, and it is quite possible that many of the orders issued in his name were quite unknown to him, though this does not, of course, affect his responsibility.

The live wire in the Nawab's administration was one Ashrat Khan, who arrived in the station from Shamsabad during the siege of the Fort. By birth he was a native of Delhi, and a brother-in-law of Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan of Kaimganj (see Chapter VIII), who was later appointed Nazim of the West division of the District. Both of these men were pensioners of the British Government, the former being in receipt of Rs. 700 a month in recognition of his father's services in the time of Lord Lake. He got himself appointed Mushir-i-khas, or Privy Councillor. Actually he became President of the Council, and leaguing himself with the Bigga Begum, the Nawab's favourite wife, soon became ruler in all but name. The other members of the Council were Captain Ganga Singh, and Subadar Sheo Ghulam Dichit, of the 10th Oudh Irregulars. These two, by reason of their connection with the only trained and organised troops the Nawab had, and through having been instrumental in placing the Nawab on the Masnad, exercised an enormous amount of power, particularly the former. Sheo Ghulam Dichit was mainly devoted to the study of astronomy and Hindu theology, and gradually fades out of the picture. With regard to Captain Ganga Singh, there is much discrepancy in the various records as

to his unit. He is frequently described as belonging to the 10th N. I., and in his letter quoted in Chapter XI he describes himself as belonging to the 41st N. I. But the weight of evidence, especially at his trial, goes to show that he was a Subadar of the 10th Oudh Irregulars from Sitapur.

For administrative purposes the District was divided into two divisions, East and West. The former included the Tehsils of Kamalganj, Kanauj, Chhibramau and Tirwa, and of this division Mohsin Ali, an influential drunkard of no great intellectual powers, was made Nazim. Ahmed Yar Khan, who has been described as "an incompetent savage", was made Nazim of the western division, which included Kaimganj and Shamsabad in this district and Aliganj, Patiali and Kasganj in Etah. The district was further sub-divided, as in the time of British rule, into six tehsils and ten thanas. Many of the subordinate officials under the British took service in similar or improved appointments under the Nawab, who thus had a nucleus of experienced administrators under him. Three out of six Tehsildars and six out of eleven Thanadars accepted service under the new Government, and an even higher proportion of more humble officials, including all but one of the Collectorate sowars, and practically all the clerical staff of the Revenue and Criminal departments. The pay of the Tehsildars remained as under British rule. *i. e.* Rs. 200 a month, and that of the Thanadars varied from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 a month. Police constables, of whom there were a vastly increased number, received Rs. 5 a month.

It is hard to blame these men for taking service under the new régime. The work was what they knew, and in the disturbed conditions prevailing they could hope for no other occupation. In addition, they could not hope that their abstention would be looked upon with merely passive displeasure by the Nawab and his principal advisers. The Nazir of our Criminal department actually did not accept employment under the Nawab, and got rather severely handled in consequence, being fined, and plundered of a good deal of his property.

On his accession the Nawab issued a Code of Procedure for both Criminal and Revenue departments. This Code closely resembled that

in force under the British Government, but in its execution there was considerable difference. The land revenue was to be collected in eight instalments, though this was subsequently reduced to five. If it was not paid by the 15th of the month in which it was due the Tahsildar was authorised to issue a summons by a footman at 2 annas a day. If the revenue was unpaid at the end of another week a second summons was issued by a sowar, which cost 8 annas a day. Of these sums, when realised, one-quarter was paid into the Treasury and the balance divided among the men who served the summonses. Should the dues still remain unpaid there appear to have been two alternatives open to the Tehsildar. In the first he could imprison the defaulter for fifteen days, and after that, if the default continued, send him to the Nawab for further imprisonment. In the second he could issue a proclamation to the effect that, if within one week the balance was not paid, the moveable and immoveable property of the defaulter, except implements and agricultural cattle, would be attached and sold. In the event of further default yet another proclamation could be issued, that the landed property of the zamindar would be farmed to the highest bidder for three, seven or twelve years. The possibility of the tenants starting a no-rent campaign was also considered, for should the landlords be unable to pay their revenue on this account the Tehsildar was able to go to each village and recover the amount due to Government as revenue from individual cultivators. The Code does not appear to have bothered as to how or whether the landlord got the balance of his rent.

During September 1857 the Tehsildar of Kasganj endeavoured to get one of famous Gardner family, residing in Fatehpur but owning property in Farrukhabad, to pay land revenue. Dating his letter 2nd September 1274 Hijree (as was natural in a Mohamedan State) he wrote— "I have been most anxious to have a personal interview with you. You must have heard of the Nawab of Farrukhabad becoming the Supreme Ruler of the entire district of Farrukhabad, and of my own arrival in zillah Kasganj as Tehsildar under orders of the Nawab. It has surprised me to find that notwithstanding you are zamindar of several villages in his territory, and have regularly paid the revenue of your Ilaqa to former

rulers, you have not yet caused any of your agents or patwaris to wait upon me with the revenue of the year ending 1254 Fasli. Now the Nawab Sahib has enjoined on me to collect the revenue of his territory with unflinching rigour, and he daily addresses to me parwanas calling for the accounts of receipts, disbursements and balances, as well as for wasilbaki and tauzi statements. Being thus sorely pressed, I have troubled you with this communication, and beg that you will send me the balance due for the year in question without delay, as by doing so you will greatly please the Nawab Sahib. If you fail to send it the Nawab will think ill of you and you will get into trouble. If you don't send the rent let me have a distinct reply from you that I may forward the same to the Nawab."

Mr. James Gardner decided for the distinct reply, as follows:—"Your excellent letter informing me that the entire district of Farrukhabad had come under the rule of the Nawab of Farrukhabad, and that you had come to Kasganj as Tehsildar of that place under the Nawab's authority, and complaining of my not having sent you the revenue of my zemindari for the year ending 1254 Fasli, and threatening me with the displeasure of the Nawab if I failed to do so, duly came to hand. It is a thousand pities that your worthy master is so foolish and ill advised, and yourself so short sighted, that you both fancy yourselves to be the rulers of this territory. Have you not heard of the recent troubles of Nana Sahib of Bithur, of the Nawab of Malagarh, of Mohamed Ghaus Khan Sikandar Wala, and of Maulvi Abdul Jalil and others? It is very certain that the fate of these unfortunate men will be the fate of your presumptuous master and yourself. I confidently believe that through the blessing of Our Saviour I shall yet see you safely secured by the agents of British authority, and probably swinging with ropes round your necks and your boasted territories resumed. As for you expecting me to pay you any revenue, it is simply ridiculous. No power but the Hon'ble East India Company can claim revenue from India. Such a demand from a person like the Nawab of Farrukhabad is highly presumptuous. Like master like servant. You have probably heard that when ants are about to

perish, wings grow out of their bodies. It would be well if you sent on this letter for the information of your excellent master at Farrukhabad. But I have a shrewd suspicion that, ere it can reach him, General Havelock will have advanced upon Farrukhabad for the purpose of investing the Nawab with a robe of honour, and ridding the earth of such a pest as your master has proved himself to be." The Tehsildar could hardly have expected anything more distinct than this.

The Land tax was, of course, the chief nominal source of the Nawab's revenue, but by the time it reached his coffers it appears to have shrunk considerably. He therefore imposed a heavy octroi duty on all articles imported into or exported from the principal towns. In some cases this amounted to 7% of the value. Farrukhabad city alone produced results at the rate of Rs. 2 lakhs a year, and the octroi of Kamalganj was farmed for Rs. 700. That of other towns was made over to the soldiers, possibly because they were the only people who could collect it, or possibly to keep them quiet on the subject of pay, the issue of which seems to have been somewhat spasmodic The soldiers insisted on wheat and ghi being exempt from duty, and the export of the former commodity was absolutely forbidden by them. No other objection appears to have been raised against the tax nor does trade seem to have suffered. The excise revenue realised was small, probably owing to the general sense of insecurity. Poppy cultivation was forbidden, as the Nawab wished for no competition when he came to sell the large stock of opium which he had seized in the Government storehouse. Any revenue which might accrue from ferries was left to the soldiers.

Captain Jones, R. N., mentions another method adopted by the Nawab to raise revenue. He says that when the fort at Farrukhabad was occupied large quantities of red cloth were found. The story went that when the Nawab was unable to obtain any more money from the banias, who all pleaded dire poverty, this cloth was put up to auction. The banias managed to find some money for this purpose, if not for new taxes, and bid for it vigorously. Each lot had to be paid for as it was sold, but at the end of the sale, when all the money had been collected, the

cloth was returned to the Nawab's store and the purchasers went away without either their money or the cloth.

In Criminal cases Tehsildars were authorised to pass orders in trivial matters. In case of assault, or wounding without bone fracture, or not very severe wounding, the Tehsildar could imprison for a year and impose a fine of Rs. 200, with another year's imprisonment in default, though he was first, if possible, to realise the fine by attachment and sale of property. Cases of burglary and theft, in which not more than Rs. 100 worth of property was involved, could be dealt with by the Tehsildars. More serious cases had to be prepared by the Thanadars and sent to the next higher court, that of the Muftis.

The Muftis were three in number, Ahmed Ali, Abdul Wahid and Kazi Ahmed Yar Khan. The first had been Criminal Record-keeper to the Magistrate, and the second had been a process-server (kurk amin). They received a salary of Rs. 100 each, plus 10% on the amount decreed in any suit, plus one anna in the rupee on every execution served out. They constituted the Civil and Sessions Court of the city of Farrukhabad.

Above the Muftis was the Council, which appears to have exercised plenary powers and to have been able to reverse any decision by lower courts. Original suits were also instituted before it. Sheo Ghulam Dichit had a Deputy, one Pundit Pitambar Das, in whom he placed great confidence, and to whom he referred all cases of Hindu law which came before him. Contemporary accounts describe the two members of the Council as having powers equal to those of a Lieutenant-Governor.

The above is a brief description of the Nawab's Code as it existed on paper. In actual practice it did not work very well, largely because those who were supposed to put it into effect ignored it completely except when it happened to suit them. Some curious decisions were given under the Code. A Hindu murderer was released on agreeing to become a Musalman. In another case of murder the Nawab ordered the heads of the three murderers to be struck off and stuck up over the gates of the

city, announcing a similar fate for all murderers. In a case of rape the defendant was fined Rs. 2. In a civil case the plaintiff was non-suited because he could not produce the original decision of the British Court! The Mufti stated that the decision would have been in his favour, but they could not accept an unauthenticated copy.

Some of the instructions issued were interesting. The following was sent to the Thanadar of Aliganj in connection with a case of the murder of a woman. "You are ordered to go in person to the village where the event occurred, and collecting fifty of the most respectable residents thereof, write their depositions in the following manner. 'We have not killed the deceased, nor are we aware who were her murderers'. Thus shall you take the depositions of those who profess ignorance of the affair. But if they know who the criminals are you shall write their depositions thus. 'We have not killed the deceased, but certain other persons have killed her. We say this by our faith and on our oath.' If there are not fifty such men in the village then assemble all residents and other people you can get hold of, and write their depositions a second and a third time on oath. Have the depositions of full fifty men, and carry out this order and report within three days from the issue of this parwanah."

The decisions of the Courts in some criminal cases were very severe, loss of the right hand being the punishment for theft. Cases of simple theft, however, were very few, dacoity being more popular. This being the case few people attempted a solitary journey, but travelled in groups.

The soldiery appear to have interfered successfully in the course of justice when it suited them, especially after the King of Delhi sent a Firman confirming the Nawab on his throne and praising the soldiers, to whose bravery so much was due. In a case in which a Kurmi had murdered a Musalman the Mufti had ordered that the murderer was either to give up his property to the complainant or to be killed by him, failing which he was to be blown from a gun. An appeal was lodged with Ganga Singh and Sheo Ghulam Dichit, with the result that the

murderer got off. The 41st. N. I. also prevented the killing of cows, to the great but useless resentment of the Musalman butchers who had bought their licenses, and forbade the use of bullocks for the collection of street refuse etc. Donkeys only were to be used.

Although so much severity was shown on occasion, some attempt appears to have been made to inculcate moderation and justice. In one case of petty assault committed by a sepoy on a bania the Thanadar concerned had sent a Dafadar and 30 Barkandazes to call the offender to the Thana to be reprimanded. The following order was issued on the report:—

ORDER.

"Why did the Thanadar interfere in such a case? If he wished only to reprimand the offender he would not have sent such an army on an expedition to arrest him. It is hence clear that the Thanadar had some covetous motive in sending so many men; for according to the procedure of the present Government he ought only to reprove in such a case, and prevent any further violence, so that the plaintiff may obtain justice and the offender may be terrified from committing further evil. For the future he must be careful to act by these instructions, that the servants of the Government may not be oppressed and ruined for nothing. Had he been as active in a serious case he would have been all right."

It is, however, quite possible that the large force taken by the Thanadar, and the subsequent reprimand he received, were due to the offender being one of the overbearing sepoys.

The rule of the Nazims in their respective divisions was very tyrannical, if nothing else. Ahmed Yar Khan realised his dues at the cannon's mouth. The village of Rohilla, near Mohamedabad, would not pay up. He accordingly sent Multan Khan to collect it. That enthusiast fired three round shot at the village. This produced an immediate effect, and the dues were paid on the spot, but a fine of Rs. 100 per shot was inflicted in addition, and thirty-four men were killed by the artillery fire.

Mohsin Ali, though a brave man personally, was useless as a Governor, and quite incapable of collecting revenue. The principal

reason for his appointment appears to have been a rumour that he was invulnerable. Neither the Rani of Tirwa nor Chaudhri Jai Chand of Bishangarh made any attempt to pay their dues. On the 15th October, 1857, Mohsin Ali attacked the latter at Bishangarh, and was defeated. He had another fight near Sikandarpur on the Grand Trunk Road. Some sepoys returning from Delhi were stated to have a quantity of loot with them, and Mohsin Ali attacked them to get possession of it. Not only was he defeated in his attempt but he himself received a wound which exploded the bubble of his invulnerability. He was replaced as Nazim by one Thakur Pande, a Subadar of the 41st N. I., and continued his drinking habits in private life.

The new incumbent was "an arrant knave and a great fool" and spent most of his time drinking 'bhang', of which he took an immense quantity, eating a sweetmeat called 'pehra', and using big words. On being appointed he issued the following proclamation :—

"Let it be known that to-day Thakur Pande is Collector. Let all the Amlah, the rich and the poor, come to me. If anyone goes to any other Hakim (authority) than to me he will be fined Rs. 100. If a man files a petition before me he must pay a Nazar of Rs. 5. If he will not pay he will be put in the Quarter Guard." His seal of office was engraved "The Seal of the Royal Collectory Court, by order of Hanuman Ji."

This man was, of course, appointed at the instigation of the powerful Ganga Singh and Sheo Ghulam Dichit, in order that, with the assistance of the army, the Eastern division might be made to pay up its arrears of revenue. He accordingly increased the rates for summonses. The first, the "foot-soldier's," was raised from 2 annas to Rs. 5; the second, the "sowar's," from 8 annas to Rs. 10; and if these failed he had in reserve the "Collector's," at Rs. 100. The measure of his success is not on record, but he was killed at the action of the Kali Nadi on the 2nd January, 1858.

During the early part of the Nawab's régime the district was in a very disturbed state. Before the Fort had been evacuated the Rajputs of

Mahdewa and Beloi had attacked Kanauj unsuccessfully. Also in June there was a very severe Hindu—Musalman fight near Bhojpur, where the Jhojhas, descendants of Hindus converted to Islam, and Bhattis, Pathan immigrants from Bhattiana, endeavoured to oust the Kurmis from their lands. To the rescue of the latter came the Garhwar, Gaur and Nikhumbh Rajputs, who plundered and burnt the villages of the Musalmans. When the Nawab's troops were freed from the siege of the Fort the two Nazims managed to put a stop to such affairs on a grand scale, though minor affairs were always in progress.

Dacoity has already been mentioned. Its principal centres were the Pathan neighbourhood of Kaimganj, Chhibramau and Jaganua's Tank on the Grand Trunk Road, and the castle of Thatia, where a "robber prince" named Pohkar Singh raised levies and artillery as if he were completely independent. His castle was destroyed when we reoccupied the district, and he himself was transported to the Andamans, where he died in 1867.

All this lawlessness had many reactions. Much land was left uncultivated, partly because the cultivators were unable to buy or borrow seed, and partly because, particularly near Farrukhabad, the sepoys had commandeered a great number of the plough cattle on which to take their loot to their homes across the Ganges in Oudh. Prices of all commodities doubled and trebled. Wheat, the export of which had been prohibited by the sepoys, was the only exception. At the time of the outbreak there were about Rs. 12 lakhs worth of cotton manufactures in the city. Some was sold at high prices during the outbreak, and after the return of the British and before fresh stocks arrived the traders made immense profits on their old stocks.

The military organization of the Nawab now requires some attention. The backbone of his forces was the Sitapur contingent, consisting of the 41st N. I., the 10th Oudh Irregulars, or "Ghallas," and a regiment of Oudh Irregular Horse. In addition to these more or less trained and organised troops there were a number of new Levies. There were five

Regiments of Cavalry, the 1st being Shib Singh's, 2nd Shah Nur Khan's, 3rd Ahmed Yar Khan's, 4th Walidad Khan's, and 5th Mohsin Ali Khan's. He also raised six Infantry Regiments of 'Najibs' or 'Nobles.'

1st Regiment, under Shibrati Khan.

2nd Regiment, under Asghar Ali Khan. These were known as the Haidaris, or Lion-like ones, on account of their bravery.

3rd Regiment, called the Bumarons, or skilful marksmen.

4th Regiment, called the Ali Ghol. This was composed of men of all classes, castes and ages.

5th Regiment, called the Shahabadi Regt., as it was principally raised from the town of Shahabad.

6th Regiment, called Mohamed Mir Khan's.

The strength of the Sitapur contingent was about 2,200 men. The new levies are stated to have numbered between six and seven hundred, but half of them were never present except on pay day.

The Commander-in-Chief of this force was one Agha Hussain, whose pay was Rs. 500 a month. Subadar Sheo Ghulam Dichit is recorded as having received Rs. 1,000 a month, and Captain Ganga Singh Rs. 400. The men of the Sitapur force got Rs. 12-8-0 a month, except the sowars, who got Rs. 40.

Of the new levies, the Commandants got Rs. 150, Captains over 100 men (Tumandars) Rs. 30, and third grade officers (Ulasdars) Rs. 15. The men's pay was nominally Rs. 7, but they seldom or never got full pay. They were apparently given advances at the rate of an anna a day for current expenses two or three times a month, but if pay day was the only day on which they turned up they probably did not earn much more.

In addition to the Cavalry and Infantry the Nawab raised some 200 Artillerymen. These received Rs. 6 a month. He had 24 guns of

various sizes. Some of these (as was the case with the other troops also) were kept by him in Farrukhabad, and the rest were with the Nazims. Ammunition for the guns was made in the workshops in the Fatehgarh Fort.

The levies appear to have been amply armed. Each man had a musket, a sword and a 'Garasa' (fodder chopping knife). A very popular firearm was the blunderbuss, known as 'sher bachchha' or 'tiger cub' on account of its destructive properties. Before they could be induced to start on a foray each man had to be given an advance for expenses and subsistence. Sowars got Rs. 2, and foot soldiers Re. 1. Each man was also issued with ten bullets and sufficient powder for the same. The Sitapur people were the only ones who took out any sort of magazine or commissiariat. In fact, they seem to have stuck most strictly to all the customs to which they were used under the British, including no work on Sundays and regular pay days. As the Nawab's treasury was not always equal to the strain of this last custom they used to make up the amount by fining some wealthy man or village. Their bands played the old tunes, including the National Anthem at the end, and the refugees between the Ganges and Ramganga often heard them when the wind was favourable, as did the defenders of the Fort.

On the 1st December 1857 the Nawab's troops invaded Etawah District, and occupied it, but they failed to collect enough money to pay their expenses, were opposed by the local adventurers, and had to evacuate it by Christmas when Walpole's column marched through it.

After the fall of Delhi the Nawab was reinforced by the arrival of the ex-Artillery Subadar Bakht Khan, the 'Kambakht,' who brought with him four regiments of Infantry, one of Cavalry, and seven guns. He stayed boasting with the Nawab till the 25th December 1857, and took part in the action at Patiali against Seaton's column.

Altogether the Nawab's troops met the British forces four times, being defeated each time. The first occasion was at Kanauj on the 23rd October 1857. Then near Kasganj and at Patiali in December, and finally at the action of the Kali Nadi on the 2nd January 1858.

CHAPTER XI.

SETTLEMENT AND HOLDING OPERATIONS.

BY the movements resulting in the re-occupation of Fatehgarh Sir Colin Campbell had achieved the first part of his plan for dealing with the rebels, who had been driven out of the Doab into Oudh and Rohilkhand, leaving free communication between Delhi and Cawnpore. Sir Colin's own opinion was that the remainder of the cold weather should be spent in dealing with those who had fled into Rohilkhand, leaving Oudh to be dealt with the following cold weather. His British troops were the mainstay of his force, and he did not wish to expose them to the rigours of a hot weather campaign. He put these views before Lord Canning, the Governor-General, as strongly as possible, but the latter maintained that, for political reasons, the main object of the next movement must be the recapture of Lucknow and the subjugation of Oudh. In these circumstances Sir Colin had to abandon his plans against Rohilkhand and make the necessary preparations to deal with Lucknow. These involved the moving of the all-important siege train from Agra to Cawnpore. It was also incumbent on him to keep the enemy in ignorance as to where the next blow was to fall. For both of these conditions his position at Fatehgarh was ideal. The Grand Trunk Road was covered, and an advance into either Rohilkhand or Oudh was a possibility as long as he remained there, Fatehgarh being situated at the junction of those two provinces. He accordingly stayed in Fatehgarh for one month, while the necessary preparations were in train, carrying out minor operations only for the rounding up of rebels or dispersal of comparatively small bodies in the immediate neighbourhood. Unfortunately, in order to keep his plans secret from the enemy he had to keep them secret from his own force also, and the --to them—unaccountable delay caused a great deal of chafing amongst all ranks, and much vigorous comment in the Home papers.

As previously stated, Sir Colin's column had reached Fatehgarh on the 3rd January 1858, and Walpole's and Seaton's had joined him during the next few days. His force in Fatehgarh then amounted to some 10,000 men of whom 1,800 were cavalry. The main body was encamped on the parade ground, but there was a garrison in the Fort and a strong guard for the bridge of boats at Ghatia Ghat, a little way up stream. The 64th Foot occupied what is now the Opium Godown, the enclosure being put into a state of defence, to the plans of Major Nicholson, R. E. The first garrison of the Fort was provided by the 8th Foot. These remained until the 10th January, when they were relieved by the 82nd Foot, who were destined to remain in occupation until the 25th April.

On the 4th January the 93rd Highlanders were ordered to parade to march to the city to enforce the opening of the gates, and also to demand that Mohsin Ali Khan, the late Nazir of the Collectorate, should be handed over. The Civil Commissioner, Mr. Power, had issued an ultimatum that morning that if these demands were not complied with the city would be handed over to the army to sack, as a punishment for the treatment of the European and Christian population during June and July. On the way they were met by a staff officer who told them they could return to camp, as the terms had been complied with. Mohsin Ali Khan was brought into camp bound hand and foot on a charpoy, and after a trial by the Civil Commissioners was duly flogged and hanged for his part in the murders, the gallows being a tree in a square of the city.

Alexander notes that "on January 5th the 93rd were marched down to the Ganges after morning parade to discharge their loaded rifles towards the opposite bank in line, a good illustration of one of the inconveniences of the old muzzle loader, not to speak of the danger to everyone from hundreds, sometimes thousands, of rifles being kept loaded in camp when any fighting was expected. On this occasion an unrehearsed effect of our volley into Rohilkhand was that the whole herd of baggage elephants from the camp, which were bathing and being scrubbed in the stream, were very much frightened, and numbers bolted back across country."

The 53rd Foot also appear to have had some trouble in the matter of unloading, as Captain Jones, R. N., mentions that their armourers "were employed in drawing the bullet out of many of their Enfield Rifles which, in the long firing at the Kali Nadi, where some men had to fire seventy or eighty shots, had got so foul that they could not be loaded. Many bullets had stuck so fast that after the breech had been taken out they could not even be forced back through the muzzle, and were obliged to be bored out, and it is evident that, long before they got so foul as to be utterly impossible to be loaded, it had become a matter of great exertion and time to force the bullet home. That this is a great disadvantage in the weapon is plain, and in disastrous retreats many men lose their lives and, more, their confidence and discipline, from their inability to load their firearms quickly when pressed by a pursuing foe. The quantity of distant popping that goes on, from the belief in the accuracy and long range of the arm, is absurd."

On the 6th January the 7th Punjab Infantry were sent down river to watch the Mehndi Ghat, and except for a brief absence down the road to Cawnpore, to help Wale's Horse escort a convoy from the Punjab into Cawnpore, they had their Headquarters at Sarai Miran until the middle of March. Pickets to cover the crossings of the Ganges were established under British Officers along a river front of thirty miles, and were successful in preventing any big movements of the rebels.

On the same day that the 7th Punjab Infantry left Fatehgarh a force under Bdr. Adrian Hope (2 guns of Remmington's Troop of Horse Artillery, 2 light field guns, 2 of Peel's guns, a squadron of the 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, the 42nd and 93rd Highlanders, and the 4th Punjab Infantry) marched for the Kaimganj area for the purpose of rounding up and trying rebels and destroying their property. Alexander says that when marching through Farrukhabad city the men of the Highland regiments immediately compared it with the "lang toon o' Kirca'dy" in Fifeshire! Their feather bonnets and kilts excited great interest and astonishment among the inhabitants, the men crowding the streets and the women the roofs, "wondering, no doubt, if that story of

our predilection for curried native babies could be true of these cheery laughing lads in petticoats swinging past them."

Owing to the heavy state of the roads short marches only were possible. On the 6th only 8 miles were covered, and 7 miles on the 7th brought the force to Shamsabad without opposition. Here the rest of the day was spent in demolishing the houses of the Nawab of Farrukhabad and other offenders. On the 8th another short march of 8 miles took them to Mau, 23 miles from Fatehgarh. Alexander describes this as "a town with large well built brick houses. These were studded all over the town at considerable distances from each other, the intervening spaces being occupied by irregular streets of the usual style of village mud huts, all with flat mud roofs, and not infrequently of one or two stories. The brick houses were loopholed for musketry, as were also some of the two storied mud houses, and if the inhabitants had elected, as we had hoped, to make a stand against us, they could doubtless have caused us considerable loss, which would, however, have been counterbalanced by the nest of hornets we should thus have had an opportunity of destroying."

At each halt the Civil Commissioners, Messrs. Power and Bradford, were occupied in trying numbers of mutineers from the surrounding countryside. At Mau itself some 120 were hanged from a large tree in the centre of the town. On the morning of the 11th January the force started on its return to Fatehgarh, arriving the next day. The Infantry Brigade camped alongside the Rakha Mission instead of on the parade ground which they left. The Field Hospital was in the Church Compound. The Commander-in-Chief is mentioned as being camped in a delightful grove of mango trees, but the actual site is not identified.

On the 8th January Sir Colin had received a reinforcement of five Companies Punjab Sappers (400 men). This made a total of 9 Companies of Sappers, which were employed in clearing the glacis of the Fort, strengthening its defences, and in constructing a bridge of boats across the Ganges, presumably opposite the Fort On the 12th the enemy on the Ramganga destroyed the bridge of boats at the Bhujpuria Ghat, probably fearing an attack. From now onwards Sir Colin took active

measures to induce the rebels to think that an attack on Rohilkhand was contemplated. On the 13th Brigadier Walpole was sent out to the Bhujpuria Ghat with a Light Field Battery, a squadron of the Carabineers, a squadron of Hodson's Horse, 50 Engineers, the 2nd and 3rd Bns. of the Rifle Brigade, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry. By the 15th he had been joined by a party of the Naval Brigade, 116 strong, with three heavy guns and an 8″ howitzer. This Ghat was some 7 or 8 miles from Fatehgarh, and on the other side of the river was a force of 15,000 rebels. Walpole's orders were to make a show of an intention to cross the Ramganga. Much bridging material was collected, and many reconnaissances carried out, Sir Colin and his staff also riding out and making a personal inspection of the crossing in order to deceive the enemy. So well did these measures succeed that the enemy remained inactive and intact for twelve days before they appear to have had suspicions and detached a force which will be dealt with later.

On the same day that Walpole moved out to the Ramganga the 64th Foot started for Aligarh and Bulandshahr, which they were to garrison as posts on the line of communication, and Alexander's Irregular Horse joined the force from Agra. This was a mixed regiment of Hindus, Musalmans and Sikhs, 500 strong, which had been raised at Agra at the end of 1857 by Captain W. R. E. Alexander (later General) of the 53rd Bengal N. I. He subsequently commanded the 1st Bengal Cavalry, (Skinner's Horse). This unit only remained with the force till the 19th when they left for Etawah, which was being threatened. They were, however, detained at Mainpuri, which appears to have been threatened worse. From Pitt's book the unit seems to have been unlucky. It was always being used as a panic subsider, and on arrival at the point "threatened" was usually told that all was well.

On the 13th also another move was made from Fatehgarh. A squadron each of the 1st Punjab Cavalry under Lieut. John Watson, and Hodson's Horse under Lieut. Hugh Gough, started that night with sealed orders, which turned out to be that they were to proceed to Sarai Miran and join the 7th Punjab Infantry in watching the fords over the Ganges. There were persistent rumours that the Nana would make an

effort to cross the river and get away into Central India. For some days they had nothing to excite them except shooting and pigsticking, but one afternoon, when Gough and one young officer of the 1st Punjab Cavalry were alone in the camp, a vernacular letter, described as "most urgent" was brought to the former. With considerable difficulty he discovered that it was from the Tehsildar at a ferry twenty miles away, requesting immediate help, as the Nana was about to cross the river. The two officers at once got together some 80 or 90 sowars and started off at the trot, full of rosy hopes of rewards and unlimited kudos. When they arrived they were shown boat loads of sepoys on the far side, but it soon became evident that they had taken fright and were returning whence they came. Gough never knew whether he had just missed a great coup, but the Tehsildar swore to the accuracy of his information. The cavalry returned to Fatehgarh just after the action at Shamsabad on the 27th January.

The following is of interest as showing the very haphazard conditions under which officers lived when on active service at this period. Alexander mentions that on the 18th January the officers of the 93rd Highlanders, having succeeded in procuring a Mess tent, were able to establish a Mess, and greatly appreciated it, not only as putting an end to the scant and uncertain meals which they had endured ever since they left Chinsurah four months previously, but because they felt it was a return to civilisation. The tent and a Mess cook seem to have been the only innovations, as he mentions that each officer brought his own knives, forks, plates, glass and chair, and to present ideas it seems extraordinary that until they procured a tent they found it impossible to feed together. Messing arrangements altogether seem to have been curious. Anson, when before Delhi, was continually complaining to his wife of the cost of messing. The Messman apparently charged so much a meal, attendance at which was not compulsory even when present in Camp, and Anson eventually found the cost of living so high that he made it a practice to feed in Mess a certain number of times a week only.

One of the first things which had received consideration after the occupation of Fatehgarh was the question of the destruction of the

Nawab's fort in Farrukhabad. On the 5th January Major Nicholson, R. E., had met Sir Colin in Farrukhabad and been directed to inspect the place and prepare plans for the demolition of the outer defences. This he did, and the following entry appears in his diary. "The fort consists of high circular bastions towards the country, built of pucka brick work, but on the side next the city there is nothing else than a steep bank and ditch, indeed, I should imagine that the high bastions are built more for ornament and to obtain an extensive view than for any other purpose, as they are about fifty feet in height and are quite flat on the top with nothing like a parapet on them. In some parts the walls are loopholed, but this seems quite fresh and only dates from the commencement of the mutiny. The interior is cut up into all manner of courtyards and is a most intricate affair. Informed the chief of the Staff [General Mansfield] that a great quantity of powder—7,000 lbs.—would be required. He told Captain Bruce to endeavour to procure it from the natives." That same day three R. E. officers, sixty European Sappers and a company of Bengal Engineers marched into the fort and commenced work. Considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining a local supply of powder, and as Sir Colin was unwilling to deplete his own supply by such a large quantity the work of demolition hung fire, the party of Sappers being recalled on the 9th. Early on the 13th, however, they returned with the necessary supplies, the intention being to fire the mines that afternoon. Major Nicholson writes "Rode down before breakfast with General Mansfield to see the place before it is smashed. It must have been a most delicious spot, a bungalow abounding, no doubt, in all manner of luxuries, raised on a platform full sixty feet above the level of an Indian town, and commanding the most beautiful view I could have imagined a flat country could produce."

The firing of the mines was not carried out till next morning, the 14th, as the Civil authorities were afraid that the explosion might damage buildings in which the presence of treasure was suspected. Major Nicholson's diary accordingly contains the following entry. "Rode to Farrukhabad at 7 a. m., and at 9 we exploded the mines. On the whole

the demolition was very satisfactory indeed, though owing to the uneven way in which the fuse burnt one mine remained undischarged until the line of least resistance was lessened to a half by the explosions of other mines taking place before it, the consequence of which was that the debris from this one was thrown to a very considerable distance, but the other walls were so thrown down as to form an easy ramp. One piece of stone thrown from the wall broke the bars of a cage in which there was a tiger. Through the hole out he walked, but luckily we had all left the place from which we had viewed the explosion, which was close to where the brute's cage was, and were all looking at him from the top, and about a hundred yards from him. Directly we saw him we loaded some of the Sapper carbines, and I managed to kill him." A most surprising episode!

On the 20th January the 82nd Foot received a doubtless welcome draft of an officer and 122 men from their Depot. On the 21st two Troops of Wale's Horse Joined the force, and on the 25th the 8th Foot marched out for Agra *via* Mainpuri, at which place they halted from the 27th January till the 4th February. But they had not seen the last of Fatehgarh.

On the 25th was inaugurated the first pakka gallows, which was installed in front of the present Kotwali in Farrukhabad city. The occasion was the execution of two State prisoners who had been condemned to death for complicity in the June murders. One was a cousin of the Nawab and the other is described by Alexander as "a low caste man who had acted as the Nawab's prime minister". He has not been identified. These two had been arrested and tried shortly after our arrival in Fatehgarh, but for some reason which does not appear their trial proceedings and sentences had been forwarded to Lord Canning at Allahabad for confirmation. In the meantime they were kept under guard in the Nawab's fort at Farrukhabad. On the morning of the 25th January Alexander proceeded as senior subaltern of a guard of the 93rd Highlanders to relieve the guard of another regiment in the fort. That evening Mr. Power received confirmation of the sentence of death passed on both the prisoners, and Alexander was detailed to see the sentences

carried out forthwith. As the place of execution was more than a mile from the fort he had to carry his prisoners in two ornate State palanquins through a dense crowd of the inhabitants of the city. The escort to this party consisted of 25 men of the 93rd Highlanders and a troop of Sikh Cavalry. Alexander walked alongisde the palanquin of the cousin of the Nawab, and an N. C. O. by that of the other man, both with drawn revolvers, the two prisoners having been warned that any attempt at rescue would result in their being shot forthwith. The Nawab's cousin is stated to have kept very calm, but the other, "a low caste very truculent looking villain, turned a sort of pale purple from fear of death, and never ceased to whine and weep and cry for mercy from the time we started till the drop fell." The whole proceedings were conducted with great ceremony before a large crowd of the inhabitants. After the bodies had hung for half an hour they were taken back to the fort and buried in the presence of some of the leading men of the district.

Russell, in his Diary, gives the impression that this relative of the Nawab had been very treacherously dealt with; that British officers, including a Colonel, had dined with him the night before his execution, and that he had been given to understand that he was quite safe from molestation, but that the next day he was "pounced upon by the civil power" and hanged. Alexander is at pains to point out, in an Appendix to his book, that this statement is entirely without foundation. The victim had been tried a week or ten days before his execution, and although the sentence had not been made known, pending confirmation, he must have had a very good idea, the times being what they were, what that sentence was. When he had first been confined in the fort he had asked Mr. Power for permission to send a daily dish of food to the Captain and two Subalterns of the guard, which permission had been granted owing to the difficulty of supplying the officers with food so far from the camp. That was the extent of the "dining," and no Colonel was involved. Russell also states that the execution was conducted under "circumstances of the most disgusting indignity, whilst a chaplain stood by among the spectators." This statement also Alexander categorically

refutes, as the only Europeans present were the men of the 93rd Highlanders, and the ceremony was most correctly carried out. It is possible that Russell was mixing this execution up with that of Mohsin Ali Khan, immediately after the force reached Fatehgarh. This appears to have been carried out in a much more rough and ready manner, and Captain Peel commented adversely on the arrangements.

On returning to Fatehgarh the next morning Alexander found that a force was about to start for Shamsabad to deal with a detachment of 5,000 of the enemy, with 5 guns, which had crossed the Ramganga above Bhujpuria Ghat where we were watching them, and also the Ganges at Suraj Ghat, and reoccupied the town named. This force consisted of two parts, half consisting mainly of local men under Multan Khan, of whom mention has been made in Chapter VIII, and the other half, under Niaz Mohamed, being composed of men from Rohilkhand. A spy in the camp estimated its strength at between eight and ten thousand men, which is probably an exaggeration. An attack on Farrukhabad had been proposed for the 27th.

There are as many versions of the composition of our force, under Adrian Hope, as there are accounts of the action, not even the official account being correct. From a comparison of all available material it can be stated confidently that the composition was actually as follows:—

Remmington's Troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.

No. 17 Light Field Battery (previously commanded by Bourchier, but now by Blunt, Bourchier having left to take over a Horse Artillery Battery at Lahore).

2 Squadrons 9th Lancers. (Capts. Johnson, Steele, Goldie and Willis).

Hodson's Horse (200 men under Capt. Hodson, with Lieuts. Macdowell, C. J. S. Gough and Guise).

42nd Highlanders.

53rd Foot.

4th Punjab Infantry.

Brigadier Hope's despatch runs as follows (See Map V):—"I marched from Camp, leaving the tents standing, on the 26th at 11 p. m., and after halting for three hours short of the village of Kurshinabad, proceeded at daylight on 27th towards Shamsabad. A thick fog compelled us to move cautiously, and it was 9 o'clock before the column closed up under cover of the village of Shamsabad. The rebels in considerable force had taken post three quarters of a mile beyond that place. They occupied a commanding knoll on the edge of the plateau overlooking the plain. On the knoll was a brick building, the shrine of a Mussalman saint, and the place was surrounded with the remains of an old entrenchment, upon which they had raised a sandbag battery. Their front was defended by a ravine, impassable for cavalry or guns."

The following account of the ensuing mounted fight, by General Sir Charles Gough (the C. J. S. Gough with Hodson's Horse) is taken from "Hodson's Horse."

"Brigadier Hope moved off the road to the right, and with his staff, and accompanied by Hodson and Macdowell, rode up to a solitary tree close by, from whence he began to examine the enemy's position. Immediately the enemy's guns opened fire from the high ground, and the very first shot plumped into the middle of the group, striking poor Macdowell just under the right knee, smashing his leg and passing through his horse. The battery of Horse Artillery, which had been moved up, immediately galloped forward along the Mau road, crossing the ravine by a stone bridge, and took up a position on the other side, coming into action at close quarters—about 700 yards—with the enemy's battery on the mound. Hodson immediately led his regiment over the bridge, and formed up on the left flank of the battery. The ground here was undulating. The guns were placed on the crest of a ridge, whilst we were sheltered by the rising ground. The roar of the round shot and

shell flying just over our heads was terrific. Almost immediately a body of the enemy's cavalry was seen coming over some high ground to our left. Hodson ordered the left squadron to wheel to the left, calling out to me to keep in support and remain with the guns, but immediately afterwards he shouted out 'Come on Gough.' I ordered the right squadron also to wheel to the left and led on upon the enemy on our proper left. As we advanced at the gallop I saw another body when we got on the rising ground on our then right (proper front), who came down on us, their leader carrying a carbine and challenging us We turned our horses to the right to meet this. For my own part, being on the right I now got the lead, and rode straight at the enemy's leader, thinking to run him through the body before he could swing his carbine round on me. The point of my sword struck him full on the breast, but to my surprise the next moment I found myself unarmed, and looking round saw my sword sticking fast in the man's body, he still on the horse. I drew my revolver and rode down to where I saw Hodson and Wise and some of our men hotly engaged with some of the enemy. I shot down one man attacking Wise and the next moment felt a spear strike me in the left rear. Throwing my body round to defend myself I saw Hodson's sword descend on my assailant's head."

Writing of the same melée Hodson himself wrote "We had a very stiff fight of it, as we were far in advance of the rest of the troops, and had to charge a very superior body of the mutineer cavalry; but there was nothing for it but fighting, as had we not attacked them they would have got amongst our guns." Also "They were very superior in numbers, and individually so as horsemen and swordsmen, but we managed to 'whop' them all the same and drive them from the field. I got a cut which laid open my thumb from a fellow after my sword was through him, and about half an hour after this caused me to get a severe cut which divided the muscles of the right arm and put me *hors de combat.*". Eventually one squadron of the 9th Lancers under Captains Steele and Goldie came to his assistance, and the enemy was driven over a steep bank into the plain below.

The infantry now came into action. The despatch states "Captain Blunt brought his guns into action in an excellent position on the right of the ravine, and the line of infantry was formed on the right, consisting of the 4th Punjab Infantry under Captain Wilde, the 42nd Royal Highlanders under Lt.-Colonel Cameron being on the extreme right, the 53rd under Major English being in the second line. The enemy were unable to withstand the admirable fire of our guns, and I ordered the infantry, who had been screened in a hollow of the ground, to advance, and soon after, seeing the camp nearly abandoned, the 4th Punjab Infantry were directed to seize it, which they did in a very spirited manner, shooting down many of the retreating enemy."

The Cavalry, supported by a Wing of the 53rd Foot under Major Payn, kept up the pursuit for nine miles, capturing four guns. Anson claims that the 9th Lancers alone killed 300 of the flying enemy. Macdowell died of his wound that evening. Before joining Hodson's Horse he had been in the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers. His body was brought back to Fatehgarh, and is buried in the Cemetery in the Fort. The inscription on his tomb reads:—"To Lieutenant C. J. M. Macdowell, 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, killed in action against the rebels at Shamsabad, 27th January 1858, whilst second in command of Hodson's Horse. Erected by his brother officers as a slight token of their sincere esteem."

The spy referred to earlier gives the following pithy description of the fight. "This side began to fire cannon. The English came on without returning a shot. When they got within range, the first shot knocked over a gun-carriage; the second shot went right into the mouth of one of the Bareilly guns, so that was also silenced; the third blew up the powder magazine; another knocked over the treasure chest; lastly General Niaz Ahmed's horse was shot, the army began to run, and was followed up to the Ghat by the English. I also ran for my life with the rest. I cannot say what has become of the army, nor how many were killed, but they have been entirely beaten and broken. Niaz Ahmed Khan was wounded in two places, and his nephew was killed. When roll was called at Usait

twelve hundred men were missing." On the dead body of the General's nephew was found the following charm, the figures of which total 34 however added, horizontally, vertically or diagonally.

1	14	11	8
12	7	2	13
6	9	16	3
15	4	5	10

There is another and more thrilling version of the advance of Remmington's guns, described above as crossing a stone bridge. Alexander says that on the return of the column to Fatehgarh he heard the following from Lieutenant A. Butter of his Regiment, the 93rd Highlanders, who was Hope's A. D. C. "Hope had directed Remington to move his Troop forward to some higher ground on the British right [? left] flank, not seeing, owing to the lie of the ground, that there was a deep and wide ditch between the old and the new positions. Indeed as matters turned out, it appeared as if the enemy had relied on the existence of this ditch as a protection to their left flank. What must have been their astonishment and consternation to see Remington's Troop charge and clear this ditch, horses, guns, tumbrils and all, land safely on the other side, and open fire at once within easy range and with crushing effect! When Adrian Hope explained to Remmington that he was, of course, not aware of the existence of the formidable ditch, Remmington is reported to have modestly replied that as the Troop was advancing at the gallop before he saw it himself, he thought it would be safer to charge it than to attempt

to swerve to one side. It was the general belief that this astounding feat had a great deal to do with the enemy breaking their ranks and taking to their heels after the fifth round." From the plan (modified from Captain Jones' book) it appears possible that both versions are correct, and that, having crossed the main nullah by the stone bridge, Remington came unexpectedly on the subsidiary nullah shown, and had to take it in his stride or crash into it.

The following description of the battle field, as it exists today, is of considerable interest, and has been written by Mr. Wallace. "The stone bridge is an excellent example of an old Nawabi bridge, with three pointed arches, very high in the centre. It is 180 feet in length and 20 feet wide. The mutineers' lines were about three quarters of a mile in length, and were easily outflanked. Eight hundred yards from the stone bridge, and some fifty feet higher, is an Idgah, which has been loopholed on the reverse side, *i. e.* towards the mutineers' rear. Continuing along the ridge in a north-westerly direction one comes to the tomb of Hussain Shah, which is on a higher part of the plain and looks as if it had been scarped. My informant told me that the mutineers strongly fortified the enclosure, and had four guns in position. He showed me three of the gun positions, which are now to be seen in perfect state, the gun platforms having been cut out of solid *kankar*, and sited in round bastions. To the north-east of the tomb is a long wall with rooms attached to it, which has been regularly loopholed. All the loopholes are in position now, over twenty of them, and they also face towards the mutineers' rear. Around Hussain Shah's tomb is another enclosure, with earth ramparts round it and two bastions at the corners. The buildings here were not loopholed. The ridge ends abruptly with this enclosure, and one stands here about fifty feet above the bed of the Bur Ganga. From the top of this ridge, that is from the Idgah right up to Hussain Shah's tomb, an excellent view is obtained across the nullah and the lower ground on the other side, and our troops coming from Shamsabad must have been in full view of the mutineers. I inspected the site of the cavalry fight, which is well known locally and was pointed out by my informant. It is known as the *Tikli* or ravine country.. The ravines are more than six feet deep and very

narrow, and cross the plain in every direction. It is rather extraordinary that a cavalry fight should have taken place here, and it must have been very difficult. However, local tradition is very strong and says that the fight took place up and down these narrow ravines. A mound 300 yards west of the stone bridge, on the Shamsabad side of the nullah, was pointed out as being the first artillery position [Blunt's]. The line of fire from this mound was uphill and at the Idgah, which is possibly twenty feet higher than the mound and about 600 yards distant. The Idgah shows traces of having been struck in four or five places by cannon balls, and much damage has been done to the masonry. Hussain Shah's tomb, or rather the loopholed enclosure to the north of it, also shows signs of having been hit several times, presumably by Remmington's battery."

There is nothing in any of the accounts which have been consulted to suggest that the Idgah even existed, let alone that the mutineers occupied it, but there can be no doubt that they did, probably with a picket to cover the crossing of the stone bridge. The phenomenon of certain buildings being loopholed on the reverse side is probably explained by the fact that the British remained in occupation of the position till the next day, and that the loopholes were made in case of a counter attack by the rebel forces.

Writing to his wife, Anson says "A lamentable accident occurred next morning. A private of the 53rd fired his musket into what he supposed was a heap of straw, giving cover, perhaps, to a Pandy or two. It turned out to be powder, and thirteen men were blown up, and seven or eight so badly hurt that they are unlikely to recover." Another and more probable version of this accident is that the 53rd were unloading a captured ammunition tumbril, in which iron shot and powder were indiscriminately mixed. One iron shot probably struck against another, causing a spark which ignited the whole of the powder. This version is confirmed by Sir William Payn, who states that the men were tying up the captured ammunition into bundles, prior to throwing it into a well. Some men of the 4th Punjab Infantry were also involved in the accident. The column got back to Fatehgarh at about 6 p. m. on the 28th.

By this time Sir Colin considered that he could disclose his plans, the siege train having passed along to Cawnpore, and a systematic withdrawal of troops from Fatehgarh commenced. On the 27th the 1st Bengal Fusiliers marched out and were followed on the 31st by a squardon of the Lahore Light Horse, which had arrived the day before as escort to an ammunition convoy. On the 1st February Sir Colin himself started by double marches for Cawnpore, accompanied by a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the 9th Lancers, and a squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry. A few hours after his departure Brigadier Hope Grant also left, with the headquarters of the artillery and cavalry, and Hope's Brigade, moving by the normal stages. Brigadier Walpole's Brigade was still out on the Ramganga, but had been ordered in to Fatehgarh, where it was to be joined by a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery for its march to Cawnpore. Walpole's orders were to remain at Fatehgarh for three days, in case he was followed up by the enemy, before leaving.

During the time the force had been concentrated at Fatehgarh the Gun-carriage factory had been able to do some very useful work. Two of the 18-pr. guns taken at the action of the Kali Nadi were mounted on 24-pr. carriages, and it struck Captain Peel that with a very little alteration these carriages would do very well for the Naval 8″ gun. Several of these, without field carriages, had been brought from the "Shannon" as far as Allahabad, where it had been necessary to leave them, and Peel was very anxious to get them into the field. The factory was accordingly directed to put the conversion in hand, and while the work was going on Peel discovered that amongst the half-wrought timber in the Fort there was plenty which was sufficiently thick and strong for the construction of extra carriages. These were also put in hand, and by the time the force left Fatehgarh six carriages were ready, and were taken down to Cawnpore to meet the guns which had been telegraphed for from Allahabad. These guns were extremely useful during the subsequent siege and capture of Lucknow.

When this move had been carried out there remained in Fatehgarh only a Light Field Battery (9-pounder) R. A., some Sappers, the 82nd

Foot, and some newly raised Police Cavalry, 350 strong. This force was nominally under the command of Col. Hale of the 82nd Foot, but the station formed part of what was known as Fatehgarh District, under the command of Brigadier Seaton, who was also in Fatehgarh, and the latter seems to have done most of the actual commanding, to judge from his book, "From Cadet to Colonel." Nevertheless, Sir Colin evidently considered Col. Hale to be in command of the post at Fatehgarh, as he wrote him the following letter:—

Fatehgarh:
January 16, 1858.

My dear Colonel,

I shall be glad to see you in the course of the afternoon. I hope you are getting forward with the arrangements of the stores and provisions which are to be lodged in the Fort for the use of your garrison, by placing them in the most convenient situation, and the provisions so arranged that they may be got at daily without difficulty. You must turn carefully over in your mind the best manner of distributing your little force for the defence of your post, taking care to hold in hand a certain portion, or a reserve. I would hope that you are not likely to be molested after the force may be ordered to leave this; but an officer in your situation, and having reference to the state of the country, should so prepare himself and his post for every possible contingency. Look to the careful storing of your ammunition, and afford every assistance to the engineers with fatigue parties to assist in improving the defences: these fatigue parties to consist of one or more (if necessary) distinct companies, with the Captain and other officers and non-commissioned officers invariably present, superintending their men when at work, and to be made responsible that their men work zealously. No party to be employed on any fatigue without the presence of an officer; and when possible the officer should be of the same company. In fact, you should arrange that duties of every sort should be performed by companies. If the work or duty be imperfectly performed, the discredit will fall on the Captain of the company. You will have much to think of in command of such a post

as the one you are charged with, and it will be prudent to give it your early attention.

Yours etc.,

C. Campbell.

This is a very interesting letter from several points of view. The idea of fatigue parties by complete units is many years before its time, but for a Commander-in-Chief to write such a letter direct to the commander of a small post is hardly in accord with present day ideas on decentralisation. Lt.-Gen. Shadwell, however, (from whose 'Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde,' published in 1881, the letter is taken) considers this attention to detail a most excellent trait on his part. The matters dealt with give food for thought as to the degree of efficiency which existed at the time. Many a Captain of the present day would resent being told to arrange his stores etc. so that they could be easily got at when required.

The newly formed Fatehgarh District comprised the stations of Fatehgarh, Mainpuri and Etawah, and Sarai Miran on the Grand Trunk Road, and its garrison, in addition to the troops at Fatehgarh, consisted only of one British regiment and the 7th Punjab Infantry. This was a small force with which to keep in check the 15,000 rebels across the Ramganga at Allahganj and its neighbourhood. Seaton had been made a Brigadier a few days after reaching Fatehgarh, and had been posted to the 3rd Brigade. Hoping to take part in the major operations at Lucknow he was bitterly disappointed when, on the 22nd January, Sir Colin sent for him and told him that as he was the only Brigadier who could speak the language and manage the natives he had been forced to appoint him to command the district. In spite of the pious hope expressed in his letter to Col. Hale, Sir Colin does not seem to have been at all certain about the freedom of the post from molestation. He had told Seaton that he "would do something about" the Allahganj rebels, but did not, and when leaving Fatehgarh remarked "You'll be mobbed, my dear friend, as soon as I leave, but you must hold out till I come back. You must push on the repairs to the Fort, and the defensive measures

that are in progress outside, and indent at once on Agra for ammunition for your guns."

The repairs necessary to render the Fort tenable against a well equipped enemy were considerable. Seaton says that the ramparts and parapets were all out of repair. The interior of some of the bastions was visible from the outside, being seven or eight feet lower than the others. The parapets were all too low, and too thin to stop even a 9--lb. shot. There were no proper platforms for the guns, and no gun-ramps to some of the bastions. On the river face there was neither parapet nor rampart. To the north there were groves of huge old mango trees, surrounded by thick earthern walls, within a hundred yards of the Fort. All these had to levelled. On the south, within musket range, was the bazar of Hussainpur. At the back of this bazar was a deep wide ravine, parallel to the south face of the Fort, and as it would have made a good forming up place and starting line (Seaton calls it "a grand parallel and place d'armes") for an enemy, it had to opened up as much as possible, and all the buildings demolished. This work had been started much earlier, Major Nicholson having received orders on the subject on the 12th January. The Sappers had to be augmented by a large number of coolies, about whose pay there was considerable discussion. There was difficulty in obtaining the required number, and Major Nicholson's diary contains the following entry. "Mr. Power, the civilian, said that we did not pay enough, so Sir Colin ordered me to give four annas instead of two. On return to camp I found that that was a great deal too much. What could Power have been thinking about?"

The subject was returned to on the 16th January. "Rode to H. Q. to see if I could not convince Power that four annas a day is too much. Saw him with Fisher (another civilian) and an old Indian Babu [? Isan Chandar Deb]. These both agreed that four annas was too much, and that the coolies should be got in any numbers for two annas. Agreed to meet the Babu in the Fort to-morrow to decide upon it. Again to H. Q. in the afternoon. Saw the Chief and General Mansfield. The Chief enquiring again about the coolies. Appeared dissatisfied about the rates

of pay I proposed. Said give them anything as long as the work is done, and push on as quickly as you can. Always thought the work was going on too slowly so was not astonished." On the next day "Rode out early in the morning to set the men to work and try and push on the levelling etc. quicker. Commenced pulling down the village [Hussainpur] and turning the people out of their houses. This day we had besides our own people about 530 coolies. These together made some slight impression, but to level all the way round to the river will take an immense time."

Seaton's gunners were depressed at the absence of any mortars with which to deal with this ravine, but in rummaging about in the Fort he "found an old French brass mortar. It was too large for our 8" shells, and too small for our 10", being about 9" in calibre. I thought that by seating a shell on the chamber, which was deep, and wedging it up so as to keep the latter covered, we might contrive to throw it into the ravine. So having got a rough bed made for the mortar it was mounted on one of the bastions and we proceeded to try it. All people being warned out of the ravine, the mortar was loaded and fired. But the wedge put in to block up the shell to its proper place somehow shifted, the shell slipped, left a large vent for the explosion, and consequently fell half way, just clearing the crupper of a horse picketted outside, frightening his life out and astonishing its master, a commissariat sergeant, who had arrived with some stores. We determined to try some other dodge, but somehow it never came off." As the enemy never attacked the Fort a mortar was never needed.

Seaton immediately indented on Agra for ammunition for his seven heavy guns, ranging in weight from 12 to 32 pounders, as he had at the outset only twenty rounds of ammunition for them. Pending its arrival he had the bridge of boats brought down under the walls of the Fort, and detailed a party of 100 of the 82nd Foot to be taught gun drill. By the time the ammunition arrived they were tolerably proficient, so after some preliminary blank practice, and choosing a day when the wind blew towards the rebels at Allahganj, he had some practice at a large white boundary pillar on the far side of the river, commencing with

the 12-pounders and finishing with the 32-pounders. The next day one of the villagers brought back one of the 32-pounder shot, and assured Seaton that on hearing the firing the livers of the rebels had melted with fear, and that half of them had run away in the night. Actually some who had joined the morning before had left during the night.

In spite of the rebel strength at Allahganj no attempt was ever made to attack Fatehgarh, but they caused considerable trouble and anxiety by their foraging activities in the country between the Ganges and Ramganga during February. During March their numbers increased considerably all along the Ganges, and their attitude became daily more threatening. On the 10th March their force at Kuchla Ghat, near Kasganj, crossed the river, and General Penny from Meerut had to march against them. Earlier in the month Kampil had been attacked by some 300 sowars and some infantry from Budaun. The rebels had returned across the river with considerable plunder. On the 13th March the troops at Sarai Miran, less 200 men of the 7th Punjab Infantry, were called in to Fatehgarh to help deal with the threatening situation. These troops, in addition to the 7th, consisted of two guns, a Squadron of Alexander's Horse, and three companies of the 82nd Foot. About this time there were most persistent rumours that the Nana was about to cross the Ganges to get down to Central India, and some small parties did manage to get across without detection by our troops. The Allahganj force sent a detachment to Bangaon, an important village on the Ganges, 24 miles above Fatehgarh. To watch this detachment Seaton sent a mixed force of 82nd Foot and 7th Punjab Infantry to the Surajpur ferry close to Bangaon, with orders to prevent a crossing and to report any such movement which appeared likely. At the end of March he had orders to withdraw the force, but replaced them by a small party of mounted police. From these he received information that small parties were crossing daily, and returning to Bangaon each night. Later on he heard that the rebels had been considerably reinforced, that a large party had come down to the ferry, and that the country round Kampil and Kaimganj was in a very restless state.

It appeared clear to Seaton that the rebels, emboldened by his enforced inaction and the withdrawal from the Surajpur ferry, were intending to cross the Ganges and raise the country against us once more. This would have had very serious effects on operations elsewhere, involving as it would the closing of the Grand Trunk Road and the line of communication between Delhi and Lucknow. Seaton therefore decided that a blow must be struck. There were three points open to him. The first was Allahganj, only seven miles away, but this was considered far too strong to be attackable with such force as he could make available. The second was Bangaon, 24 miles away. This he decided was just too far to be dealt with in one day. The third was a village called Kankar, this side of Bangaon and some 22 miles off only. Considering the heat this was quite far enough away, but he decided he could manage it, and by doing so hoped to cause Bangaon to collapse on Allahganj thereby easing his own task of keeping the Doab clear.

He kept his intention entirely to himself, not even his Brigade Major knowing, until the evening of the 6th April, after all strangers had been turned out of the Fort and the gates closed. This intense secrecy was necessary as it was known that enemy spies were in the Fort every day, and had the least inkling got abroad the operation would have had no chance of success. The force detailed to carry out the operation was as follows:—4 guns of a 9-pr. Battery R. A. under Major Smith, one 24-pr. howitzer worked by a detachment of the 82nd Foot under Lieutenant J. S. Hand, 350 Sikh Horse under Lieuts. St. John and de Kantzow, 600 of the 82nd Foot under Col. Hale, and 100 of the 7th Punjab Infantry under Captain Stafford. It was accompanied by Messrs. Power and Vansittart and Captain Bradford as political officers. One company of the 82nd remained in the Fort.

Seaton thus describes the operation. "At 11 p. m. the troops filed silently over the bridge. Even at that hour the heat was tremendous. The road was unmetalled, and the march of so many men, horses and guns stirred up thick smothering clouds of dust. We marched as fast as we could till well past the camp at Allahganj, which was about three miles

to our right. When assured by our spies that all was quiet I halted for an hour to give the men some rest and refreshment. Just as day began to dawn a shot was fired at the advanced guard, and in five minutes we were in their presence. Their position was strong, a walled grove of trees between two villages, with low swampy ground to the right, and along the front the old bed of a river, which took a bend to our left. As soon as we came in sight there was shouting and noise in the enemy's camp, and the hubbub and confusion was wonderful. In a few minutes, out from behind the left village, came two splendid bodies of cavalry, the finest and best mounted that I have ever seen. One of these advanced towards my right; the other, by far the larger, went off to my left. Getting Major Smith to cover our advance on the grove of trees, and to bestow some of his favours on the cavalry moving to our right, I marched rapidly on the grove of trees, the enemy firing on us with three guns, but our movement was so rapid that their shots flew over our heads.

"The enemy cavalry on our left got into the old river bed, evidently intending to take us in flank. Their heads were not visible, but the points of their tall spears showed their position distinctly as they moved along at a distance of 700 yards. Riding up to Colonel Hale I desired him to draw out two of his companies, the best shots, and see if he could not disturb this little manoeuvre. This was speedily done, and the men, loosening their files, commenced firing calmly and deliberately, the musketry instructor having given the number of yards to fire at. In a few minutes, before three rounds had been completely fired, there was terrible confusion among the spears, and as Col. Hale's hearty voice was heard encouraging his men to fire steadily, with good and deliberate aim, out bolted the whole of the cavalry as hard as they could, and were followed by our horsemen and by shouts of derision from the whole of the line. This was the first time I had seen the Enfield rifle used in the field, and I thought it the very king of weapons."

A very interesting and amusing account of an action, with its 'fire orders' etc. One wonders whether it was incumbent on the commanding officer of those days to carry the last musketry returns in his head, and on

whom devolved the duty of assessing the number of yards at which to fire should 'the musketry instructor' become a casualty.

The advance was then continued. The battery had turned the other party of cavalry and silenced the guns. The infantry charged the villages and groves of trees and the rebels fled in all directions, leaving in our hands their guns, stores, ammunition, tents, standards and baggage. In the village on our left a few of the enemy still held out, but it was stormed and the defenders put to death. The captured ammunition was blown up, and the force bivouacked under the trees until the afternoon, while the civil officers went through the captured baggage for papers and examined the numerous prisoners brought in. The cavalry returned from the pursuit in about an hour. As the force was having breakfast a body of some 200 horsemen appeared in the distance, evidently sent from Allahganj to see how their friends at Kankar were faring. A few rounds from our guns gave them all the information necessary, and they returned to Allahganj, where their report caused so much alarm that the rebels broke the bridge over the Ramganga and removed the boats to their side of the river. The return to Fatehgarh commenced at 2 p. m. and was completed at a little after 9 p. m. Forty-four miles and a successful action in just over twenty two hours must be considered good going, especially at the time of year, when Fatehgarh can be quite unpleasantly warm in the middle of the day. The Record of Service of the 82nd Foot notes their return "having performed a march of full 40 miles, suffering greatly from the heat of the weather, and scarcity of water, the wells being few and the water foul."

Our casualties were only 3 killed and 17 wounded, of whom the 82nd Foot had two men killed and three wounded. After this action the troops nicknamed Seaton the 'Kankaring Hero.' The result of the fight was all that could be desired. The rebels withdrew all their parties across the Ramganga, and the Kampil area was thoroughly cowed. The Bangaon force, as had been hoped, also fell back on Allahganj.

About fourteen days later the Commander-in-Chief returned to Fatehgarh on his way to conduct the campaign in Rohilkhand, and

Seaton had no more active operations to carry out. He subsequently, having received news on the 12th May that he had been awarded a K. C. B., left for Shahjahanpur to take over a command there, being relieved by Colonel Macausland. During the time he had been commanding at Fatehgarh he had received "some very queer letters from all sorts of people," and he gives the following literal translation of one from the infamous Captain Ganga Singh, of Sitapur.

"Petition of Ganga Singh Subadar Bahadur, 41st N. I., the Doobaee Regiment.

Dated May 19th, 1858.

To Mr. Seaton,

Brigadier of Fatehgarh.

Your slave has fled from Lucknow, and had resided in the houses of Ramnarayan Bania, Agarwala, in the Mohallah of Lobaee, Farrukhabad, and made over to the custody of the said Ramnarayan 1000 Jaipur ashraffis, Rs. 10,000 of ornaments and jewels, Rs. 5,000 cash. Also to Ramghulam, Mahajan, of the Jutwarra Mohallah of the city, Rs. 15,000 of gold and jewels. Phulchand, son of Natheram, is the party who was go-between in these transactions, and he, Phulchand, has of my property, Rs. 2,000 and some cloth. None of these men will return me my property. People are getting wind of my whereabouts. I shall mizzle to-morrow. I have settled all my accounts, paid the taxes, and know that I shall be killed wherever I go. Your highness can take the above mentioned property from the persons who now hold it."

Seaton handed this letter over to the civil authorities for investigation, and never heard what came of the matter.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ROHILKHAND CAMPAIGN, AND AFTER.

AFTER the final capture of Lucknow Sir Colin Campbell entirely reorganised his force for the forthcoming campaign in Rohilkhand. He himself returned to Fatehgarh *via* Cawnpore, but in order to turn the rebel position at Allahganj on the Ramganga, and so avoid a frontal attack on a river crossing, he despatched a force across country with orders to march *via* Sandila, Rudamau and Sandi to Allahganj. It was hoped that this movement would also result in the preservation of the bridge of boats across the Ramganga, which was necessary for the passage of the siege train which was proceeding by road through Cawnpore.

This force, which was under the command of Brigadier Walpole, consisted of Tombs' and Remmington's Troops of Bengal Horse Artillery, a Heavy Field Battery (two 18-prs., two 8″ howitzers and two 8″ mortars), 23rd Coy. R. E., a detachment of Bengal Sappers and Miners, Headquarters and five Coys. Punjab Pioneers, 9th Lancers, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, the 42nd, 79th and 93rd Highlanders, and the 4th Punjab Infantry, all first class troops. The Infantry Brigade was commanded by Brigadier Adrian Hope and the Cavalry by Brigadier Hagart.

From the first it seems to have been an unhappy force, and out of temper with its commander. Leaving Dilkusha at 5 a. m. on the 7th April (Alexander even so early complaining that they had been roused quite an hour earlier than necessary in order to do so) they concentrated in the neighbourhood of Musabagh, 9 miles away, about 8 a. m., by which time the sun was beginning to be uncomfortably hot. They were then kept hanging about in groves of trees until 1 p. m., when they had to march two miles further on with a sun temperature of 135 to 140 degrees, "and although there was in the neighbourhood enough shade to shelter an army of 10,000 men, we had to pitch our tents in the open, under a sun with which you could cook a beefsteak on a flat stone. The

tents were not pitched till past two o'clock, when we retired to their shade with the temperature at 140 degrees." From the 7th to the 18th April the same routine was followed, numbers of men being lost through sunstroke and apoplexy, but from the 18th onwards, owing to the strong representations of Dr. W. Munro, the senior surgeon with the 93rd Highlanders, permission was given to pitch the tents in mango groves.

In view of this tirade it is interesting to note the remarks of Dr. (later Surgeon-General, C. B.) Munro on the subject of the siting of camps. He lays no claim to having been the cause of the change from open plain to groves of trees, but writing of the march after the affair at Ruiya, *i. e.* from the 18th March onwards, says "I do not remember to have been on any service where troops were so harassed or exposed to greater suffering and discomfort. We were dispirited by the shame of failure, for which the men felt they were not to blame; we were oppressed by the intolerable heat, scorched by a blazing sun, nearly suffocated by hot winds and clouds of dust, wearied and exhausted by want of rest and sleep, and disheartened by the daily loss of comrades who fell victims to heat apoplexy. Our camps were generally formed in extensive groves of mangoes, under the grateful shade of which we were comparatively cool and comfortable during the day, but at night the hot air radiating from the ground and confined by the dense overhanging foliage, was oppressive and stifling, impeded respiration, and kept our bodies in a state of feverish restlessness. Added to these causes of discomfort the noise of the number of camels packed closely round our tents, and the sickening effluvium from their bodies, rendered sleep impossible, or at least disturbed and unrefreshing. We learned during that march that the protection and comfort afforded by the shade of trees during the fierce heat of day in the hot season is far less in comparison to the discomfort experienced in the same position at night, and that it is preferable to pitch one's tent out on the open plain, and there to endure as patiently as possible the great noonday heat, with the certain prospect of enjoying a lower temperature and fresher air at night, in which respiration could be free, and refreshing sleep possible." The possibility of having the tents in the

open for use at night, and letting the men enjoy the shade of the nearby mango groves by day, does not appear to have occurred to anyone.

Smallpox also broke out among the 79th Highlanders on the 10th. Several cases occurred, and one man died, but it was stamped out in a few days.

The daily march was short, from six to nine miles only, and on the 15th April the force found itself close to the Fort of Ruiya in Hardoi District, 51 miles from Lucknow and 10 miles from the Ganges. This Fort belonged to a petty landowner named Narpat Singh, " a half-hearted rebel," and in no way disposed to try conclusions with such a force as Walpole commanded. Alexander describes the place thus. "The keep, so to speak, was enclosed by a high mud wall, loopholed for musketry, with a broad and deep ditch on its northern and eastern faces, and approached on these sides through thick jungle. It had irregular bastions at the angles, one gate on the western and another on the southern face. The western and southern faces were, however, so weak as to be incapable of offering any defence, being only covered by a large sheet of shallow water in front of the outer wall, which was here so low that an active man could jump over it. In short, the cavalry could have ridden into the Fort on either of these sides." The garrison of this stronghold consisted of about 350 " rag-tag-and-bobtail followers." All this information was given to Walpole on the 14th April by a sowar of Hodson's Horse, who had been captured some time previously and confined in the Fort, but managed to escape on the approach of our force. He further told Walpole that Narpat Singh intended to make only a show of resistance, to save his face, and would evacuate the place during the afternoon. Walpole refused to believe the story, organised no reconnaissance to test it, and accepted the strength of the garrison at 1,500, as reported by his spies.

Early on the 15th the force left its camp and moved towards Ruiya. After proceeding four miles the tents, baggage and camp followers were dumped under a guard of all arms, and the remainder advanced some six miles further. The composition of the " A Echelon " which accompanied

the fighting troops is interesting. "The camels with the troop and company cooking utensils, and commissariat supplies of rum, biscuit and living beef and mutton." Why anyone should encumber a force about to attack a Fort with meat on hoof passes modern understanding. At about 11 a. m. they came under fire from the northern and eastern faces of the Fort, and finding that our attack was directed against these faces only, and that no attempt was being made to cut off their retreat, the enemy settled down to enjoy themselves behind their ramparts and loopholes.

Outside the wall of the fort was a deep and narrow ditch, and inside rose a formidable keep, from which much of the enemy's fire came. Two companies of the 42nd Highlanders (No. 8 leading, with No. 7 in support) were ordered to advance till they came within sight of the gate of the fort, and then to open fire. These companies imagined that this movement was to prevent the rebels bolting out of the gate when the remainder of the column got into it on the weakly defended side, and to ensure giving them an adequate welcome Captain Grove, of No. 8 company, ordered his men to fix bayonets. He soon found, on reaching the counterscarp of the ditch, that he was losing a lot of men, and was unable to make any effectual reply. He therefore sent back for support, and Walpole sent up the 4th Punjab Infantry to reinforce him, which they did by prolonging the line to the left. The total strength of the 4th had by that period of the campaign been reduced to 5 British officers, 6 Native officers, and 144 rifles, but owing to some being on rear guard not more than 50 or 60 rifles were available for the attack.

On reaching the line of the 42nd, Captain Cafe, who was commanding the 4th, found that the thick low jungle obscured his men's view, and also that they were suffering considerably from the fire from the wall and keep in front. He therefore took his men down into the ditch, where he was protected from the fire from the keep. During this advance Lieutenant Willoughby was shot in the neck, and fell dead on the counterscarp. Captain Cafe soon found that the walls were easily scaleable, but when he and his Subadar Major climbed to the top to reconnoitre he found that between the wall and the keep was perfectly open ground, devoid of all

cover, and came to the conclusion that his strength was insufficient to carry through the assault. He therefore reported that his position was untenable and asked for orders. He was then told to fall back into line with the 42nd, which he did. The regiment was subjected to very heavy fire while crossing the strip of open ground, and lost its Subadar Major killed and Lieutenant Sperling wounded. There was no means of getting the wounded away, and they had to have their wounds tended where they lay. Several men were wounded a second time after having their injuries dressed, and the Surgeon's syce was killed alongside him.

Having got his regiment into the position ordered Captain Cafe set about recovering the body of Lieutenant Willoughby, which was lying on the edge of the ditch. Accompanied by two volunteers of the 42nd, Ptes. Spence and Thompson, two of his own Native officers, Subadar Mubarak Khan and Jemadar Jowala Singh, and a sepoy of the 4th, he proceeded towards the ditch. The sepoy was shot dead directly they started, but the rest of the party reached the ditch safely and recovered the bodies of Lieutenant Willoughby and the Subadar Major. While these were being carried towards the jungle Captain Cafe noticed that one of the two Highlanders, Pte. Spence, was lying wounded and helpless close to the ditch, and returned yet again to assist him. While helping him along he was himself badly wounded in the arm, but carried on till he had got his companion into safety. Spence died soon after but Captain Cafe and Private Thompson were awarded the Victoria Cross and the two Native officers received the Order of Merit for their very gallant action.

During this fight the 42nd had lost two officers (Lieutenant Douglas and Ensign Bramley) and seven men killed, and one officer and thirty-one men wounded. For their conduct in the fight Qr. Mr. Sergeant John Simpson and Private James Davidson also received the Victoria Cross Q. M. S. Simpson received his Cross for recovering, under heavy fire, the bodies of the two officers and five men from the ditch when the retirement was ordered. The total casualties of the 4th amounted to eleven killed

and thirty-six wounded including officers. The 79th Highlanders, who were in reserve, had three men wounded, of whom one died later. The 93rd also had a few men wounded.

In the meantime the remainder of the force had been in line under cover of a slight rise in the ground, and were unaware of the tragedy which was going on within a quarter of a mile of them. At about half past twelve they received the amazing order to form in column of Battalions further to the rear, pile arms, and let the men have their dinners! Cooking pots were accordingly unloaded, and dinners were served at about half past one. Attempts were then made to send their dinners to the two companies of the 42nd who were in the attack on the Fort, and it was only then that some idea of what was happening reached the troops. At about 2 p. m. Alexander's company of the 93rd was detailed as escort to two howitzers which were moving off to batter in the gate on the southern face of the Fort. His men were delighted to have something active to do, and dragged the two guns at a great pace to the appointed place. After two or three well directed rounds per gun had been fired a staff officer arrived with orders to cease fire and rejoin headquarters. The guns were allowed to go back leisurely, under bullock power, the men refusing to lend a hand, and remarking "The man doesna seem to ken his ain mind."

On rejoining headquarters it was learnt that Brigadier Adrian Hope had been killed. There is another version of his death, but Alexander says that Hope's A. D. C., Lieutenant Butter, also of the 93rd, told him later in the afternoon that Hope, his Brigade Major and himself had started down the slope towards the ditch where the 42nd and Punjabis were being butchered, to see if anything could be done, when Hope sank to the ground, shot through the chest by a man in a tree inside the Fort. Surgeon General Munro confirms this from the course of the bullet. The effect on the temper of the men of the Highland Brigade, to which Adrian Hope himself belonged, may be imagined.

On rejoining, Alexander found everyone busy reloading cooking pots, and his company well behind in the operation. "My men developed

a persistent incapacity to balance the loads properly, and as soon as the camel rose off would go the load, being unevenly balanced one side or the other. Eventually it appeared that the next move of the Division seemed to await the satisfactory loading of the cooking utensils of No. 6 Company 93rd Highlanders, for the General himself rode up, and angrily asked for the officer commanding the company. When I presented myself he wigged me for the delay and asked how long I proposed keeping the force waiting. Growling, but very audible, replies were heard from the off sides of the camels standing near us, where the men seemed to be struggling to adjust the balances of the loads, but were in reality upsetting them. The keynote of these replies seemed to be 'Tull ye tak Ruiya.' General Walpole then addressed the men direct, and scolded them for their clumsiness, when (always from the off side of the camels) a voice I recognised as that of the funny man of the company answered him 'Ye're a deevil amang the pots and pans, but ye canna tak Ruiya!' General Walpole pretended not to hear it and rode away, when I begged the men to put the loads right and send our camels off to the rear as soon as possible, which they then did."

The infantry then formed into line facing the Fort, and all supposed that they were about to advance and storm it. Their disgust on finding that they were merely to cover the retirement of the remnants of the ditch party, and then to retire themselves, seems to have been given full expression. While they were waiting, Brigadier Hagart rode up to Walpole, who was sitting on his horse a little in advance of the 93rd, and asked permission to lead the cavalry through the shallow water, which he had just reconnoitred, and ride into the Fort. Walpole's reply was "Rejoin your Brigade, Sir!" As the remnants of the attackers were now slowly mounting the rise he ordered the infantry to move by fours to the left. Just at that moment a tremendous dust storm started, and the excuse of the roaring wind was seized by all the company commanders to misunderstand the order. Nobody gave 'fours left'. Some gave 'fours right', and some were content with 'quick march', which would have taken them straight into the Fort. In a very short time the brigade was completely tied into knots, and it was not till 5 p. m., after the storm had passed on,

that order was restored and a move made to a camping ground a mile away.

Shortly after this withdrawal the 93rd nearly lost their rum. Alexander says "Our regimental rum camels were very nearly captured by some of the garrison who had made a sortie from the fort armed only with bows and arrows. Our regimental Quartermaster, 'Jy Jy, the Avenger'*, with his party in charge of our rum, not finding the Division in front of the fort, of course concluded that we were inside it, and proceeding leisurely towards it was assailed with a flight of arrows, to his intense disgust. But as the guard of our men promptly replied with their rifles the bowmen hung back, and our rum eventually reached camp in safety."

Alexander with his company, two guns, and a troop of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, was detailed for outlying picket in a grove of trees within half a mile of the Fort. During the night he heard continuous rumbling of wheels, and sent four written messages and one verbal to the effect that the enemy was evacuating the Fort, but received no reply. The sergeants who took those sent at midnight and 2 a. m, reported that "they did not seem to like being wakened up in the General's camp." These reports appear to have been completely ignored, for in his despatch, dated the 16th April, Walpole says "This morning at daybreak Major Brind, Bengal Artillery, and Captain Lennox, R. E., proceeded again to reconnoitre the place thoroughly, before recommencing operations, and found that the enemy had evacuated it, leaving their guns behind them, five in number, with ammunition, a large quantity of atta, and some tents." Even then no pursuit was ordered.

The force halted on the 16th and 17th, the time being required to organise transport for the numerous sick and wounded, to destroy the Fort, and to bury those who had been killed in the attack. This last was done two miles from the Fort, probably close to the place in which the force camped after withdrawing. The site is now a cemetery, to the

* His real name was Joyner.

upkeep of which Government contributes, and is situated on the road from Sitapur to Mehdi Ghat in a very old mango tope. It is surrounded by four whitewashed walls, and has a central gateway. The interior is laid out as a garden, with rose trees etc. In it are seen the graves of Adrian Hope and Lieutenants Willoughby and Douglas and Ensign Bramley. There are also a number of nameless graves of the men of the 42nd Highlanders who fell. The cemetery also contains the graves of the family of Wazir Singh, the Christian Sikh orderly of Mr. Edwards, the Collector of Budaun (see Chapter VIII). As a reward for his services Wazir Singh was granted the village of Rudamau, and special permission to use the cemetery. In April 1858 Mr. Edwards took him to England with him on the P. & O. "Indus", on which Captain Oliver Jones was also a passenger. Wazir Singh himself died in 1903. His family still lives in Rudamau, but has got into debt.

On the 18th April the march was continued, and on the 22nd the force arrived at the village of Sirsa. This was a strong village on the left bank of the Ramganga, about seven miles from Allahganj. Here the cavalry of the advanced guard came into contact with the retiring pickets of the enemy. The cavalry and Horse Artillery carried out such a vigorous pursuit, under Brigadier Hagart of the 9th Lancers, that they had captured the village before the infantry could come up. Some of the cavalry, supported by two companies of the 93rd Highlanders, were sent to turn the rebels' flank, with the result that their retreat across the bridge of boats over the Ramganga was converted into a rout, and they had no time to do any damage to the bridge. Two companies of the Punjab Sappers were detailed to clear the town, some of the houses in which were vigorously defended by small parties of rebels. Among those of the enemy who were killed were found a number dressed in the uniforms, and bearing the arms, of the men of the 42nd Highlanders and Punjabis who fell and were left in the ditch at Ruiya. Camp was formed about one mile on the Bareilly side of Allahganj, and the force remained there till the morning of the 27th, when it moved five miles to Thigri.

In the meanwhile Sir Colin Campbell, the siege train, and other troops had been converging on Fatehgarh. The siege train under Lieutenant Tod Brown, consisting of 28 heavy guns and mortars, and escorted by a squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, the 78th Highlanders, and the 2nd Punjab Infantry, had left Cawnpore on the 15th and arrived at Fatehgarh on the 22nd. Walpole having cleared the Ramganga crossing that day, the siege train was passed across the Ganges by Seaton on the 23rd, so as to ensure that it was out of the sand and on to firmer ground before the infantry required to use the road. Sir Colin arrived on the 24th, escorted by a squadron of the 5th Punjab Cavalry, a squadron Lahore Light Horse, and a wing of the 80thFoot about 300 strong. On this occasion he pitched his camp in the Fort, close to the bungalow of the Superintendent of the gun-carriage factory, which was then occupied, in part at least, by Seaton. His camp bed was put under the large peepul tree still growing alongside the plinth of the bungalow, which was destroyed by fire in 1897. A smaller garrison being feasible for Fatehgarh while the force was out in Rohilkhand, the 82ndFoot joined Sir Colin on the 25th April, being relieved in the Fort by the Wing of the 80th Foot which had escorted his camp from Cawnpore.

Sir William Russell (as he became later), the special correspondent of "The Times" also arrived with Sir Colin's Headquarters camp, which reached Fatehgarh a day after Sir Colin himself. His Diary for the three days he was in Fatehgarh is of some interest. "*April 25th*—Marched into Fatehgarh this morning at 6-15 a. m. Passing through a city of ruins, desolated bungalows, and burnt station, we came to a high and spacious mud Fort. Passed through gateways up to a compound inside, and found Alison and Baird and others drinking tea in front of a large bungalow. These were the quarters of le Geyt Bruce, who was acting as superintendent of the gun-carriage department here, and to whom I was armed with letters of introduction. To my intense delight he offered me part of a room. Before breakfast we went down to the ruins of Maharajah Duleep Singh's park, garden and palaces, where there is a most delicious swimming bath, in which we had an invigorating tumble.

Dined with Sir Colin in the evening, where I had the pleasure of meeting Brigadier Seaton, a very intelligent, smart, gentlemanly man, and in look and manner quite bearing out the reputation he has gained for decision, dash and soldierly qualities. *April 26th.*—We went on a cruise on horseback through the bazars early, and having had a pleasant swim we returned to breakfast in a small pagoda or mosque inside a large serai, which is used by our officers as a kind of Club. I had a day of cool work, in a room in the Fort, in which the thermometer was only 88. What a change from canvas and camp! Bruce brewed mighty beakers of claret-cup; Mylne sent us in bottles of craftily constructed and cunningly refrigerated milk punch. We march tonight at 12, and cross the Ganges into Rohilkhand, which is one great rebel anthill. At dusk Bruce and myself rode over to our camp, which is pitched in a tope about a mile outside the Fort of Fatehgarh, and dined at our mess. After dinner I was obliged to return to the Fort to see my tent packed. It was bright moonlight, and the little plateau inside the Fort, in front of the bungalow, presented a curious sight, for the tents were already down and the few inhabitants of this quarter were in the open. Sir Colin was fast asleep in his chair; Mansfield was writing at a small table under a tree; Crealock in a chair copying letters and despatches on his knees. Having seen my goods and chattels off I returned to camp, where our elephants were to be in readiness at midnight. It was resolved by most of us at headquarters to use those useful creatures for the first part of the march. *April 27th.*—From Fatehgarh across the Ganges. We started from our camp soon after 1 o'clock this morning. We passed out from the trees to the plain, which was peopled by ghosts flitting along in the moonlight. The scene was theatrical and strange looking. The old Fort at Fatehgarh towering above the silvered flood of the Ganges seemed the work of some grand canvassed Grieve, and it was only the dull roar of the multitude passing over the bridge of boats which gave its real character to what was around us."

Maharajah Duleep Singh's park was the area on which now stand the Mess, No. 4 Bungalow, and the tomb of Katherine P. The swimming bath was close to the latter, on the now vacant site of No. 3 Bungalow.

This bungalow, which had been used by the Maharajah as a store house, was used as the Club after the Mutiny, the small bungalow alongside, which had been that of Sergeant Elliott, being the Library. By 1925 the owner had allowed all the property to fall into such a state of disrepair that it had to be condemned as unsafe, and was demolished. The serai, which Russell mentions as being used as a sort of Club, is now the M.E.S. Godown. The site of the headquarter camp is uncertain, but was probably somewhere in the Shisham Bagh area.

Sir Colin and headquarters joined the force at Thigri on the morning of the 27th, and the Highlanders seized an early opportunity of letting him know what they thought of General Walpole. Alexander writes: - " As was Sir Colin's wont, especially since he had been gazetted to the Colonelcy of the 93rd, he visited our lines in the evening, commencing with a stroll among the men's tents, addressing men he knew by name and asking how they were. He received short and surly answers such as 'Nane the better for being away frae you, Sir Colin' or 'As weel as maun be wi' a chiel like Walpole' till, the news spreading that Sir Colin was among the tents, all the men turned out and fairly shouted at him 'Hoo about Walpole?' meaning what was he going to do about Walpole after the terrible Ruiya business. Sir Colin was evidently much disconcerted (for the commotion brought me to my tent door, and I myself saw and heard what I have described) and instead of going on to the mess tent went straight back to his own camp, and until after the battle of Bareilly not only did not come near our lines again but took no notice of the regiment when riding past us on the line of march." In actual fact Walpole was promoted to Major General.

Fatehgarh now remained dormant during the campaign in Rohilkhand, for which Seaton had to establish a Field Hospital. By the 15th May Sir Colin considered that matters had progressed sufficiently to permit him to return to Fatehgarh, where he would be on the telegraph line, in communication with the Governor General at Allahabad, and better able to direct the various operations against the rebels. On that day he left Bareilly with his staff, escorted by Tombs' troop of Horse Artillery,

Le Mesurier's company of Foot Artillery, two troops 9th Lancers, the 64th Foot and the Baluch Battalion. On the 16th he received disturbing news of the situation at Shahjahanpur and turned aside to that place, and it was not till the 23rd that he considered that matters there were satisfactory and was able to resume his journey to Fatehgarh.

Considerable secrecy seems to have been maintained as to this movement. Russell, who had previously been injured by a kick from a horse, describes the extremely trying journey to Fatehgarh in his diary as follows :—

"*May 23rd Whitsunday.* It was late tonight when H. E. came to see me and told me that the headquarters staff and sick, escorted by two guns, a wing of the Baluch Battalion, and some Irregular Horse,* would make a forced march at midnight to cross the Ganges. Our spies had come in and reported that the Maulvi went off to-day towards Pali, taking with him 500 cavalry and four guns. It was supposed that he had gone out to try and intercept a convoy of 'Europe provisions' which were coming out from Fatehgarh for the use of the troops remaining in Rohilkhand, and if that were his object he would be quite as likely to dash at H. E. if by chance he heard we had left Shahjahanpur. At 10-30 p. m. we marced silently away.

May 24th. It was 10 o'clock in the morning before we reached Jalalabad, nearly twelve hours on the road, in great heat. The reports which were brought in about the Maulvi were rather exciting. He had burned Pali and killed all our police there, and it was positively affirmed that he was hovering about Allahganj, which was close on our line of march. Our two guns were put in position outside our tope, and in heat quite indescribable we lay on our charpoys and slept. We hoped for a long rest, but at 3-30 p. m. general orders were brought round, and we were warned to get ready for the march in two hours more. At 6-30 our little force left Jalalabad again. Strict orders were given to keep all doolies at the rear of the column. [Russell was travelling in a

*A Squadron of the 1st Punjab Cavalry.

dooly.] We were smothered by the dust. The air was heavy and hot as molten lead. I got some extra dooly-bearers, but they could hardly keep up with the column, for the Baluchis marched as fast as the cavalry. And thus we marched all night.

May 25th. I woke out of a heated feverish sleep about 1 o'clock this morning, in consequence of my dooly stopping. The bearers told me there were badmashes in front. They turned out to be the convoy of 'Europe provisions' under escort of some of the 80th Foot. These return to Fatehgarh with the C-in-C., and the convoy carries on with the two guns, Baluchis and Irregular Horse. The march continued and encountered a terrific duststorm, which was the final straw for many Several of the escort died, many were carried into the hospital at Fatehgarh, where several died afterwards."

On reaching Fatehgarh this time Sir Colin established himself "in a very good house in a fair garden, close to a tope of trees in which the headquarters camp is pitched." This was probably the present Indian Military Hospital, but there is no definite proof.

The Commander-in-Chief left Fatehgarh for Oudh on the 5th June. The composition of his escort has not been discovered, but it seems probable that some of the 80th Foot formed part of it. The whole of the Wing which was stationed at Fatehgarh can hardly have gone with him, as the 79th Highlanders did not arrive in relief from Shahjahanpur until the 6th, and the place would not have been left without a garrison.

Three Companies of the 79th occupied the buildings in the Fort, the remaining Companies and Headquarters being in new barracks which had been erected on the site of the present Maude Lines, and under canvas. Even under the comparatively easy conditions of garrison duty the men suffered severely from the heat and there were numerous cases of heat-stroke. Their stay in Fatehgarh appears to have been uneventful. They received an issue of summer clothing, which will be dealt with in a later chapter, and also six months' batta. Each private soldier drew Rs. 36, and other ranks in proportion. On the 25th June one Company, under

Major Maitland, moved down the Cawnpore road to Sarai Miran. On the 16th July four Companies left for Cawnpore, the remainder of the Regiment following on the 28th.

To relieve them arrived the 8th Foot, which left Agra on the 19th July at a strength of 15 officers and 850 other ranks. On their way to Fatehgarh, presumably when at Bewar, they detached a Company to Sarai Miran on the 26th, its strength being 3 officers and 83 other ranks. The remainder of the Regiment reached Fatehgarh on the 28th, and commenced a stay which was to extend to Christmas 1859.

Until October there was nothing but the ordinary round of garrison duty to occupy them. On the 3rd September they received a draft, under Lieutenant Whitting, which had had some exciting times on its way up country from Calcutta. It left as an escort to an ammunition train, but was "commandeered" on the march and took part in the operations under Lieutenant General Sir E. Lugard round Jagdishpur, and also under Brigadier Turner in keeping the Grand Trunk Road open. It was nearly six months getting up country. On the 16th September the Regiment was inspected by Brigadier McCausland, and it seems as if the Fatehgarh hot weather must have taken toll for, in spite of the arrival of the draft, only 470 rank and file were on parade.

In October a system of Columns was organised to complete the cleaning up of Oudh, and one of these started from Fatehgarh. It consisted of four guns of Major Smith's Light Field Battery, R. A., a Sikh Heavy Field Battery, the 8th Irregular Cavalry, the 8th Foot, and the Fatehgarh Cavalry, the last being probably some form of Mounted Police. It was under the command of Colonel Hale of the 82nd Foot, and left Fatehgarh on the 18th October. Crossing both the Ganges and the Ramganga it continued as far as Pali, where it turned South. On the 24th it appeared before Sandi, which seems to have been held in some force and with some determination, but in the end the fire of the Heavy Battery's 8″ mortars was too much for the rebels, who evacuated it on the 25th. The fort and other works were effectually destroyed and the column proceeded towards Ruiya, where Narpat Singh was once more in

possession. This place was reached on the 28th, another column under Brigadier Barker arriving simultaneously. There was no repetition of the Walpole disaster, but Narpat Singh once again managed to escape under cover of darkness.

All through the cold weather the Regiment was much split up, detachments being out with either Barker's or Hale's columns, and although the detachment at Sarai Miran rejoined on the 1st November, as a result of the operations of the columns, on the 27th January 1859 another detachment of 155 men was moved to Mainpuri. In February 1859 the last of the column detachments came in, but that at Mainpuri remained away until the 14th November, when it rejoined the day before the Governor-General's Durbar, which will be found described in the following Chapter. The day after the Durbar, *i. e.* on the 16th, the Regiment, at a strength of 557 rank and file, was inspected in review order by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell). On the 2nd December the Headquarters and 5 Companies left Fatehgarh for Cawnpore, the remaining 5 Companies following them on Christmas Eve, and with their departure Fatehgarh's connection with the military operations of the Mutiny may conveniently be brought to a close.

CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER THE STORM.

THE first visitors to Fatehgarh found the Commander-in-Chief and his forces filling every available spot from the Fort to Rakha. The transport of an Indian Army in those days was of incredible proportions; and it was with difficulty that room could be found in the remains of the station for the huge floating population, which accompanied the troops and was vaguely connected with the transport train. The question of accommodation for Government officials became a pressing one; and when several American missionaries arrived from Agra to take up the work of the Presbyterian Mission, there was literally not a roof left beneath which they could take shelter from the approaching heat, since officials had first to be housed. It is from the letters of these Missionaries that a picture of Fatehgarh after the Mutiny can be drawn. A few records and letters in the Collector's office, and the recollections of the oldest inhabitants of the bazar, provide a few scanty details to supplement them. Of the latter source by far the most interesting is Gulab, the milkman of Gwaltoli, who forms in himself a living record of local history and a link with the Mutiny. Gulab is now over ninety years of age, and still perambulates the Cantonment with his milk, as he did in his youth before the Mutiny. To him has been due not a little information of a valuable character, which has explained slight allusions in the records which would not otherwise have been grasped.

Although a good deal of plundering had been done by the local inhabitants of the bazar and villages across the river, the station would not have been badly altered but for the systematic destruction by the Sitapur mutineers on the 19th June. It has to be remembered that nearly all the houses were thatched, and exactly resembled the present No. 10 bungalow, which is a perfect example of a pre-Mutiny residence of the "haystack" variety. The only permanently constructed buildings

were the Churches of Rakha and the Civil Station, the Racquet Court, the residence built by Nawab Hakim Mehdi Ali, Vizier of Oudh, and the house built by the Government of India for the grandson of the Emperor Shah Alam, known then as the "Rum Godown". These buildings remain today, although altered or repaired, in very much their original condition. The Fort of course was preserved, since it contained workshops of the utmost value to the mutineers. A few bridges, and the now dilapidated building in the Circular Road, called the "Shora ki Kothi", or saltpetre manufactory, which was requisitioned in 1859 for the new military police, were untouched. The District Courts also were too substantial to be entirely destroyed, and in the main keep their old walls and plinths. Sir William Russell, the "Times" War Correspondent, and other visitors found Fatehgarh to be a total ruin, and the City much changed by the efforts of the Nawab's followers to turn it into a fortress by loopholing the house walls along the main street. The desolating effects of the Mutiny were visible on every hand, the Civil Station and Cantonment being a mass of crumbling mud walls, within which pieces of charred wood and mounds of rubbish indicated the site of some bungalow. Mr. Scott, an American missionary, very aptly remarked that "as far as everything European is concerned, it is a perfect scene of desolation".

The Indian Military Hospital, the old Church tower, built in 1819, and the present Collector's house still stood high among the ruins. The Church had been sacked of its furniture and partly damaged, but the tower and one aisle have been preserved to form part of the Civil Hospital; while the old Racquet Court, built before 1846, which stands a few yards distant, does not seem to have been damaged at all. The building now used as a military hospital and the present Collector's house belonged to Munawar-ud-doulah, a grandee of Lucknow, who inherited them from his uncle Hakim Mehdi Ali. The Oudh mutineers would naturally have had respect for them. The Rum Godown behind the Military Rest House was not touched at all, and was occupied by the Oudh Local Cavalry, who encamped hereabouts to the south of the rebel infantry at Shisham Bagh.

The walls and spire of the Rakha Church, to the building of which Maharajah Duleep Singh had contributed, were still standing after the Mutiny. The Orphanage, says one of the Missionaries, was filled with bullocks, and the cemetery also was occupied by transport cattle. One of the bungalows had an elephant stable in the room which was once the drawing room. The Christian village behind the Rakha Mission had been entirely laid waste. At Barhpur, similarly, the Mission settlement on the left hand side of the road, as you go to the City, was a heap of ruins, a state of devastation for which the surrounding inhabitants were entirely responsible. A voluminous record in the District Office assigns guilt to a large number of villagers, and the offenders in whose houses Church and Mission furniture were found, were mulcted in fines and made to pay compensation. The Mission servants, it is sad to relate, also took part in plundering the premises. Kanhaya, Mr. Campbell's sweeper, actually went so far as to guide a company of the 10th N. I. to the Mission in order that it should be properly looted, and induced the sepoys to beat Mr. Campbell's bearer, so that any hidden property of value might be revealed. For this singular display of treachery Kanhaya was awarded five years transportation in irons, a very lenient sentence for those days. Those inhabitants of the City, too, who were proved to have sacked the old Church at Fatehgarh, and assisted in plundering the Indian Christians at Barhpur, were like the villagers heavily fined, the fines being applied to the building of a new edifice, called the All Saints Memorial Church.

Houses were urgently wanted in 1858 for the Chief Military and Civilian officers, who had appeared in numbers on the re-occupation of the district. Accommodation was at first provided in the Fort, where each room must have had several occupants. Mr. Vansittart came as Collector for a few months. He and Mr. Raikes, who had been sent from Agra, were certainly quartered in the Fort; while there were other Civilian officers like Mr. Power, Mr. Ross and Captain Bradford, who were Special Commissioners detailed for the trying of rebels, all to be provided for. The present Indian Military Hospital was the only untouched building in good shape, and it was not available for private residents, since it was speedily

turned into a hospital and crowded with British sick and wounded. The troops were under canvas, the artillery in a tope at Naugaon village, the cavalry under trees at Shisham Bagh and Kasim Bagh nearer to the Fort, and the infantry both in the Fort itself and along the edge of the parade ground. The transport, as has been mentioned, was stationed well out of the way at Rakha.

The hot weather of 1858 was at hand, and the records indicate superhuman activity by the "Barrack Master" and his gangs. Orders were given for the building of barracks for British troops at once. The Barrack Master cleared the area by the Kasim Bagh cemetery, hitherto occupied by small thatched houses, the compounds of several traders and manufacturers of saltpetre, and now covered by the Maude Lines. Mr. Kew the Postmaster, Mr. Sutherland the trader, and one or two others of Anglo-Indian origin had resided here. Before the setting in of the rains the barracks had been completed, and the whole area around the Fort altered. Hussainpur bazar, a mass of alleys and lanes behind the present M. E. S. Godown, where lived a seething population of fifteen thousand persons, disappeared in clouds of dust, as fast as elephants could knock the houses down. Nothing was sacred to the Barrack Master. North-east of No. 2 bungalow was the garden of the Moghal princes, who had been interned at Fatehgarh since 1803 by order of the East India Company, and whose descendants are in the City to this day. The spot is easy to recognise, for in Moghal fashion the owners were buried in their garden, and three battered tombs survive to mark the locality. The Barrack Master, advancing beyond the limits of Hussainpur, cast eyes upon the garden, and his ravaging caused the writing of a pathetic letter of remonstrance to the Collector from an aged Moghal princess, named Ashraf-un-Nisa Begum, complaining that the Barrack Master had destroyed the garden, turned the gardener out and was contemplating action upon the burial ground. The condition of the tombs appears to show he was only stopped just in time.

On the appointment of Mr. C. R. Lindsay as Collector and Magistrate, a Committee of three was set up to deal with the housing

problem; for even in 1859, apart from British ranks, no one had a proper roof over his head. Mr. Alexander Ross, Sessions Judge, Mirza Abbas Beg, a Deputy Collector, and Jograj the Gumashta, visited each compound and valued the remains of the buildings in it. From their reports can be gleaned some idea of the damage caused by the six months occupation of the station by the rebels. No. 20 bungalow, known as Wright Sahib's bungalow after a former Judge, was found to consist of two walls and ten trees, the whole to be valued at Rs. 310. Mr. Lindsay himself wanted to live in Buller Sahib's house, now the District Judge's residence, where Mr Buller, the Judge, and Mr. Probyn had lived. The Committee found literally nothing left but a well and a few trees, and they described the site as a field worth Rs. 200. No. 4 Bungalow was in better shape and valued at Rs. 500. It was the residence of Munawar-ud-Doulah, and probably not much damaged by the mutineers. No. 3 (the old Station Club up to 1925), had been so devastated as to be incapable of any valuation at all. The reason is obvious; for the building had been the store house of Maharajah Duleep Singh under the care of Sergeant Elliott; and Likka Singh, the great freebooter of Allahganj, knowing this, had removed the building brick by brick in the misguided belief that the Maharajah had buried his treasures there. The Committee, in fact, after viewing the scene of Likka Singh's operations in Fatehgarh Park, as the Maharajah's estate was euphoniously named, decided that it would only be a waste of time to value any of the houses on it They gave orders, therefore, for all sites to be cleared. At the present day only No. 4 and the Officers Mess are left of the nine houses formerly standing in this "Park", the homes for some six years of the Maharajah's family and European tutors.

The present Indian Military Hospital was left in perfect condition, and Munawar-ud-Doulah, deciding to make Lucknow his home, presented it to Government. He stipulated that the Imambara and burial ground should be preserved. The former exists, but there is no trace of any tombs. Government refused to take the house and grounds as a gift, and the Committee accordingly made a formal valuation of it, amounting to

Rs. 10,000. This house was built in 1825 by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, the exiled Vizier of Oudh, and is one of the finest houses built for private residence in the province. Its central room, used as a tazia khana, has magnificent proportions. It is to be regretted that the porch has been built in, and the entrance gate demolished.

The other house, built in 1825 by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan for Mr. Swetenham, the Judge, known as the "Residenti", was also found in good condition. The Ahirs of Gwaltoli bazar, opposite the house, had stolen the doorposts and roof beams for firewood; but, as it was, the Committee found it only needed repairs, and they valued it at Rs. 2,000. The Collectors of the district have lived in this house since 1890.

After valuing an estate, the Committee then served a notice on the owner, directing him to build or repair the house at once, failing which the property was to be sold by auction by the Collectorate Nazir, and the sale money credited to Government. The results of the Committee's labours can be seen in the Fatehgarh of today. They acted hastily and summarily, and gave no direction as to the style of residence to be erected. The authorities of that day, too, were indifferent, and allowed the Committee, the members of which were all busy man, to act as they liked in the few odd moments which they could snatch for this work. Numbers of mud structures, resembling the old beehive or haystack house, arose again on exactly the old foundations; and could the old residents have come to life they would not have noticed much improvement in the plan of the station in 1860 or thereabouts.

The Company Bagh, as the Municipal Garden is called, was laid out between 1863 and 1867, in accordance with the Committee's recommendations. Most of the land, on which stood the ruins of the Clothing Factory, was already Government land, and it only remained to acquire the surrounding plots, where Mrs. Collins, Mrs. Jennings, the Hines and Colonel Tucker had lived. These compounds were all insignificant, and contained small thatched houses. Mrs. Collins' house was worth only Rs. 410; while the large house on the river bank, now occupied by the

Opium Officer, which she owned, was worth Rs. 2,710. Mr. Briant, whose success in dodging the outbreak of the Mutiny in three different stations has been described, bought the ruins of the house and the compound in 1861 for that sum.

Some houses had no owner, and the Committee were able to lay down conditions. One example was the property now forming the compound of the Railway Engineer in Strand Road. It belonged to Iqbalmand Khan, one of the Nawab's numerous relations. This gentleman was proved to have taken a prominent part in exciting the outbreak, and did not fail to take advantage of the absence of authority by laying hands on as much European property as possible. He was hanged on the 28th January 1858; and it is curious that in December of that year all the papers of his trial had disappeared from the Record Room. This was awkward for a Hindu gentleman of Aligarh, who fifty years later in 1908 for some dark reason applied for a copy of them!

In 1859 the Committee, getting no response from Iqbalmand Khan, confiscated the property, and sold it for Rs. 1,325 a few years later to a certain Bhajjan Lal, who was ordered to build a regimental Mess House. From 1867 to 1880 the Officers Mess of the British or Indian Army detachment at Fatehgarh was located permanently on this spot, until the B. B. & C. I. Railway acquired it. The old Mint House, or Tarwallah bungalow, as it is now called, was restored for Military offices. The Cantonment Magistrate worked there, and other officers, and from the Mutiny onwards it was generally referred to as the Brigade Major's office, an interesting tradition recalling the appointment of General Seaton as Brigadier Commanding the Fatehgarh District in 1858. It is permissible to infer, therefore, that General Seaton probably attended office in this very bungalow.

The only other change of any importance was due to the initiative of Sir Colin Campbell himself. He insisted on the enlargement of the Cantonment boundaries. There were several anomalies in the old Cantonment. Fatehgarh Park had been excluded. Colonelganj, though

projecting into the Parade Ground, and Kasim Bagh, cutting the route to the Fort, were also outside Cantonment limits. Much valuable ground to the north-west of the Fort was wanted; and on Sir Colin's insistence the present boundaries came into being, forming a very compact area.

One of the members of the Committee, Mr. Alexander Ross, was a member of another Committee, whose labours stand recorded in no less than 626 records of the trials of mutineers and criminals, who came into being through the Mutiny. He was a Special Commissioner along with Messrs. Robertson, Power, Palmer, Bradford, Bayley, Carr and others for the trial of rebels. Act XVII of 1857, passed on the 20th June 1857, made provisions for the arrest and trial of mutineers and deserters. It provided for the establishment of a Commission for the trial of such offenders. The penalties imposed were death or transportation for life in the case of officers, and the same penalties for soldiers with the addition of imprisonment for any term. Sentences were final, and the death sentence could be carried into effect immediately. The perusal of the records of trials under this Act is not without interest, and the evidence was recorded in detail, the Judges being assisted for the first time by the investigations of the new Police force. Old mutineers, who had been guilty of high-handedness under the Nawab's regime stood little chance of escape. Informers abounded, and there was no difficulty in getting evidence; for all the more respectable inhabitants of the City and towns had been plundered, insulted, and members of their family murdered at the will of a horde of dacoits, acting under some title of authority granted by the Nawab's Government. It is a matter of wonder, in fact, that so many mutineers escaped the vengeance of the people, as they did; but informers did not give up, and even fifteen and seventeen years after the Mutiny were denouncing old rebels of 1857.

In 1858, as soon as the capture of Lucknow became widely known, numbers of sepoys presented themselves at the Brigade office in the Mint bungalow, clamouring to be sent back to their regiments. They coolly produced leave certificates, generally bearing date just anterior to the outbreak in June 1857. These cartificates, needless to say, showed in every case that leave had long since expired. The Brigadier almost

always had these deserters sent to the lock up, and Mr. Ross, the Special Commissioner, dealt with them later in no uncertain fashion. Havildar Imam Bux of the 29th N.I. went one better than most by producing a leave certificate written by himself. A good many men of the 4th N. I. were in the district on leave, and their cases keep recurring in the records; while the Nawab was able to raise a cavalry regiment out of the numbers of Irregular cavalrymen on leave in Raipur, Kaimganj and Shamsabad.

In nearly every case it was certain that sepoys on leave had taken part in operations against the Government. Bannee, an Ahir sepoy of the 7th Company, 42nd N.I. at Saugor, was proved to have been at Cawnpore with the Nana, though he protested his innocence. He was asked to call his witnesses. He then stated God was his only witness. A Kot daffadar of the 10th Irregular Cavalry, was found to have a large store of broadcloth and articles of Colonel Tucker's from the Clothing Factory concealed in his house at Kaimganj. He had served under the rebel Nawab of Bareilly, and was hanged. A sowar of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, who was found in his home at Chhibramau, was proved to have fought with the mutineers at Delhi; and his house was crammed with plunder. The sentences passed on men who refrained from rejoining their units after the expiry of leave was always transportation for life, unless they had fought against Government.

All the massacres were investigated, and persons concerned in the murders were proclaimed, rewards being offered for their arrest. They were carefully excluded from the terms of the Government amnesty. The fate of arch criminals like Bhullan the baker, Wazir Khan the coachman, Ghulam Ali Khan the Kotwal, has been mentioned in other chapters. Proof against them was easily forthcoming; but it was not so easy to deal with persons found in possession of plunder. The burden of proof that they had bought the plunder at one of the Fatehgarh Kotwali auctions lay on them, or otherwise it was presumed they were guilty. Of this class of case three examples can be given. Sardar Singh, a contractor for the supply of road metal, was given away by an informer. In his house in a village on the Mainpuri road was found a quantity of wood

from the Church, an English overcoat, a roll of broadcloth from the Clothing Factory, three score buttons and hooks, harness, a large tent and two small tents, an English saddle and girths, three pairs of socks, two toast racks, two cloth caps, and a compass. All this property came from Colonel Tucker's bungalow and the Government Clothing Factory, and had been bought at an auction held by the Nawab's Police. Sardar Singh was acquitted.

On the other hand two Mohammedans of the City were hanged for being in possession of two tin uniform cases belonging to Captain Phillimore, and a box of China and glass, a cardboard box filled with gold chains, and a box of clothes also the property of that officer. The informer was Mrs. Phillimore's ayah. One of the accused advanced the preposterous plea that he had saved the life of Mrs. Phillimore and should be rewarded. Mrs. Phillimore left Fatehgarh long before the Mutiny. Nawab Ghazanfar Khan was a relation of the reigning Nawab. He could only put up a futile defence to the charge of being in possession of an Arab horse, belonging to Mr. Lowis, the late Joint Magistrate, three buggies, a curricle and a phaeton carriage. He stated his intention had been to keep them for their owners. This excuse did not save him from the gallows; for he not only knew the owners were besieged in the Fort at the time, but he had actively helped to besiege them.

Unfortunately for a great many offenders, a list of the Nawab's police and chief agents was found in the deserted Kotwali in the City. Numbers of minor officials of the Revenue department had passed from the Company's service to that of the rebel Nawab almost without realising it, and such lesser fry could hardly be blamed for doing so. It was a different matter altogether, when the police service was concerned. It was only natural that the Nawab should invest them with every power to bolster up his administration, and it was more usually the case for the police to invest themselves with authority without worrying about the Nawab's sanction. Men like Fateh Ali Khan, the Jemadar of Patiali Police Station, and the Sowars who made up the Nawab's cavalry, were out to make one desperate fling at Fortune. They fought the British

columns to the last, and only retired from each field in order to prepare for another.

Fateh Ali Khan, who hailed from Shamsabad, was transported for life. He died at Port Blair in 1859. He is interesting for the determined way in which he upheld the Nawab's flag in the distant outpost at Patiali. The correspondence, seized in his house after Seaton's victory at that place, shows the unflinching optimism of the man. In the month of Rabi-ul-Sani on the second day he addressed the following letter to Ahmad Yar Khan. "Yesterday we heard the noise of guns in the direction of Kuchla Ghat. Learnt some Europeans had come with two officers to the Ghat from Etah to Kasganj, and thence to the Ghat. The General of Bareilly attacked them. By God's grace, the General conquered, and the defeat of the accursed English was such that they fled, falling and rising, for four kos; and five hundred sowars and infantry were killed and wounded, and one officer wounded severely."

A large majority of rebels of minor degree were released under the amnesty, and their property restored to them. Proceedings were continued against those suspected of definitely criminal conduct. A few cases may be quoted to show the variety of circumstances, considered as falling outside the scope of the amnesty. Jail guards appear to have been notoriously rebellious. Himmat Singh of Fatehgarh worked at the Bareilly Jail. He was senior havildar of the guard which released the prisoners. He then egged them on to murder Mr. Hansbrowe, the Superintendent. Buried in his house was found an English coat and shirt, and a Government musket. He was transported for fourteen years. The Jailor of the Mainpuri Jail, Walayat Ali Beg, must have been beyond the pale. The record states that he was shot and his property confiscated.

Babar Ali of Shamsabad appears to have anticipated events by turning his house into a fortress with a view to fending off retribution. His trade had made him a popular and rather conspicuous figure; for he was a manufacturer of powder and shot, without a plentiful supply of which the Nawab's Government would have fallen into ruin. The Nawab

conferred upon him the sonorous titles of Commissary of Ordnance and Commandant of the Artillery. His son was made a Risaldar in Mohsin Ali's regiment, a rank, however, of no significance at all, for no one in that regiment would admit that he was anything less; and there were no rank and file at all, if the statements of members of that corps, delivered afterwards from the dock, are to be believed.

Babar Ali finished tamely. In January 1858 Captain Bradford, the Magistrate, went to Shamsabad with the celebrated Major Hodson of Hodson's horse to search for the Nawab's arsenal. The house was loopholed, and strengthened to resist assault. It was crammed with shot and shell, and lacked nothing but the master of the house, who absconded in such a hurry as to leave the door open. Good police work at length secured Babar Ali's arrest, and on the 23rd June he was hanged.

Another inhabitant raised a flag in the market place and preached a *jihad* or war against the infidels. Three years in irons was his sentence. A pensioned sowar, late of the Poona Irregular Cavalry, lent a horse to the Mohsin Ali regiment, a transaction which brought him no profit. He complained that the horse had not been returned. The unfeeling Judge sent him away for five years transportation, confiscating his property and pension in addition. It is a moot point whether his offence was worse in degree than that of an ex-policeman, who served in the Mohsin Ali regiment for only one month, and also earned five years transportation with confiscation of property for this indiscretion.

The first pressing question after the re-occupation was to dispose of the Nawab's family. The Nawab himself had fled to Bareilly, then under a rebel Nawab of its own. Not a few of his brothers and cousins had behaved badly, and three were hanged for participation in the massacres. A few more males were left, whose conscience had nothing to reproach them, and a number of ladies, who were an encumbrance to the Commander-in-Chief. The District Magistrate was directed to do something about them. He collected the whole family in Fatehgarh; and on the 20th February the Kotwal of Fatehgarh was ordered to send a waterman

and a shopkeeper with supplies to Hakim Mehdi Ali's house for their convenience. They were thus interned for the time being in the present Indian Military Hospital.

By the orders of Government the whole family was to be deported to Allahabad, where their conduct would be investigated. The party was collected at Fatehgarh and arrangements made at Government expense for their transport. There were eight Nawabs, eight Begums and a horde of children. The party started in February in palanquins carried by eighty-eight kahars, their luggage following in forty-three carts. The total cost to Government for the whole journey from Fatehgarh to Allahabad was Rs. 1,463. The record of this transaction also gives tantalising information about a Mrs. Bignell, the wife of Captain Bignell. This lady was to go to Allahabad and be in charge of the party. Her luggage was sent with her, and to make sure she went the Collector paid her an advance of Rs. 12-4! No clue as to her condition or nationality is given. Nothing is said as to the place from which she had suddenly appeared. She did not return from Allahabad with the family of the Nawab, and as a matter of fact she disappears as mysteriously as she came.

The papers dealing with the affairs of this party contains many letters, bound up with them in the same bundles, which are signed with the intriguing signature of Harriet Birch *alias* Nur Jehan Begum. Some letters, written in the same long quavering handwriting, are signed Mrs. Sarbaland Khan, obviously a third designation of the same person. They are addressed to the Collector, and first endeavour to move his pity, and ask to be excused from making the journey to Allahabad. The Collector, however, was not moved either by her protests, or the passionate entreaties which fill later epistles. Eventually the lady bowed to destiny, and set off in her palanquin under the watchful eyes of Mrs. Bignell. The correspondence did not even then stop. From the first halt at Kamalganj came a note saying all was well. From Gursahaiganj, the second halt, came another note in the same strain, and so on until the exigencies of distance from Fatehgarh rendered it impossible to continue.

Fortunately a good deal is known about this lady, who was born in No. 12 bungalow about the year 1811. Her father, Stephen Birch, was a hard bitten old campaigner, who had helped George Thomas in his splendid rascality and served Scindia under the command of Perron. He was one of the little band of "European Military Adventurers," who after a lurid past came over to the side of the East India Company in 1803, and received a monthly pension of Rs. 300, in payment of services of a dubious character, and as an inducement to keep out of further mischief. He appears to have shared in the Delhi campaign under Lord Lake, alongside of the more famous Skinner and other great Irregulars, his battalion of Najibs from Panipat being mentioned at the siege of Delhi in 1804. It was more than likely that he saw Fatehgarh for the first time when Lord Lake saved the station from the attentions of Holkar and his raiders. Certain it is that he adopted Fatehgarh as his residence by 1810; and the district records commence to record his manifold activities. He seems to have tried his hand at every trade, and failed in them all, and the execution of mortgage deeds and bonds indicate that the family fortunes were indeed low. About 1830 he was euphemistically styled an indigo planter, but it is certain that the old warrior was never anything but the foreman of a factory, and his son John chose the profession of pigeon fancier as one entailing the least manual exertion. Two daughters were married to Army officers named Baldock and Reid. The third and youngest daughter enjoyed a career which, starting with some colour of romance at No. 12 bungalow, ended in a dreary existence in a City zenana sixty years later.

In 1832 Harriett regretfully became the subject of much local scandal by eloping with young Sarbaland Khan, a brother of Tafazzul Husain, who later became Nawab. It must be remembered that the Nawabs maintained an establishment in Cantonments between bungalows 18 and 19, where now is a bare field. There was therefore no very great difficulty in Harriet and Sarbaland's meeting in Cantonments. Stephen Birch brought a case of abduction against the youthful Nawab which was decided by the Hon'ble F. J. Shore, the eccentric Judge of the

district in that year. Harriet was just of age when she left her father's house, and went, as she testified, of her own free will. The charge then fell to the ground.

Stephen Birch died in 1846, and the estrangement with Harriet was not serious. He left her five thousand rupees, which enabled her to buy a house in the City for her residence. This house was confiscated in 1858.

Harriet was not the only wife of Sarbaland Khan. She was the second wife, and was content to remain as such, the first wife and two sons apparently living with her. She excited anything but pity, and the officials were contemptuous perhaps. On the 20th September Sarbaland Khan returned from Allahabad with his two wives, having been acquitted, and Harriet took up her pen once more. Complaints rained in on the Collector, not only from Harriet but from all the Nawabs and Begums. Their pathetic letters, showing a despairing attempt to maintain their dignity and rank at a time when no family in the district had sunk lower, are written on gold-spangled paper. They stated they were without resources, and were unable to get either money or supplies from the shopkeepers, and that in spite of their acquittal at Allahabad of all connection with the rebel Nawab, their property had been confiscated, and they had been left indigent. At the time these letters elicited no orders, but gradually small pensions were settled on each, and have been paid monthly to descendants down to the present day. Harriet drew a pension of Rs. 20 per mensem until her death on the 4th January, 1892. She had one daughter, named Ashraf-un-Nisa, who in her own right enjoyed an allowance of Rs. 10, and died, like her mother, at an advanced age, in 1916. Nothing is more to be regretted than the lack of memoirs by this lady, for her life passed over every stage of Fatehgarh's development. She was born when Fatehgarh was still a great military station and arsenal. She grew up when Cantonments were declining. She witnessed the Mutiny from the scenes behind, and she lived on into modern times.

There were still some of the Nawab's family and he himself to be accounted for. Like all the other leaders Tafazzul Hussain absconded before the British advanced guard arrived, and the first troops to reach the Fort saw a line of fugitives streaming over the river in the direction of Rohilkhand. He found an asylum at Bareilly, until the approach of the British drove him away still further. Accompanied by his mother and the Bigga Begum, the fallen Nawab had now to taste the bitterness of defeat; for driven across Oudh, he could only find a miserable refuge in the swamps across the Nepal border, the only haven of rest left to the rebels of '57. Here, in the jungles and fastnesses of the lower hills, he skulked for the major portion of 1858, until trial in court and possibly hanging afterwards appeared to him a better prospect. He wrote to Major Barrow, Special Commissioner with the British forces on the Nepal border, and asked for terms. Major Barrow promised him in writing that he might surrender in all safety, if not personally concerned in any murder. This was a rash promise, and the Government of India was much incensed with Major Barrow for making it. On the assurance of this letter the Nawab and his family emerged from the dense forest, spreading away to the foot of the Himalayas, and made their way across the Rapti river on elephants. Here on the morning of the 7th January they surrendered to the British picket at the ford. The Nawab was conducted to the tent of Major Barrow, as being a prisoner of the first political importance, and his appearance has been noted. He is described as small in person, of slight frame, with feminine hands and feet. His features were of true Pathan type, rather Semitic in character. He wore a green and gold turban, a black velvet coat lined with fur, and silk trousers. After some conversation with Major Barrow, in which he was told that he would have to stand his trial at Fatehgarh, he was conducted to his tent.

Next day, the prisoner started off for Cawnpore in company with the 80th Foot and an Indian infantry escort, and no incident disturbed the march to that place. When half way to Fatehgarh, however, the fallen Nawab began to have doubts as to the ultimate outcome of his trial; and

an attempt was made to corrupt the Indian officer in charge of the escort, who had been especially picked for this service by reason of his fine record during the siege of Lucknow. The Nawab's overtures were rejected, but the Indian officer made the fatal mistake of not reporting the matter at Fatehgarh, where it had somehow become known. He was sent to Agra to be court-martialed. By inconceivable carelessness he had retained the Nawab's letters, and the charges being thus easily proved, he was degraded from his rank and awarded six months imprisonment in addition.

The trial took place before a Commission of three Judges, the large reception hall in the Nawab's own palace being selected as the most fitting scene for the hearing of evidence and pronouncement of judgment upon one who, eighteen months before, had disdained in this very place to give more than a passing thought to the helpless captives in his stable. He was charged with waging war against Government; with being accessory before and after the fact to the cold blooded murders on the parade ground; similarly to the murder of Kale Khan and two Sikhs at the Lal Darwaza; with being accessory after the fact to the massacre at Manpur Katri. The Court convicted him of treason and murder and, before a crowded audience of the inhabitants of the city, sentenced him to death, the only unconcerned person being the prisoner himself, who showed no sign of remorse or emotion, and resolutely kept his eyes cast down. Government, in an order published in the Gazette of the 10th May, 1859, while confirming the conviction and sentence of death, formally condemned the act of Major Barrow in making a promise contrary to the Royal Proclamation, and feeling forced to honour the promise, suspended the capital sentence by banishment. The Nawab was made to understand that if ever he set foot in India again, the sentence would be put into effect.

The prisoner, meanwhile, while awaiting confirmation of his sentence by Government, had been lodged in the Fort at Fatehgarh. On hearing the decision he selected Mecca as his place of residence, and set about preparing for his last journey. Already before he left, he witnessed the

official cancellation of the treaty of 1802, the demolition of his fort and home, and on the 20th April 1859 the sale of all his property. Accompanied by two servants only, he was sent heavily fettered to Agra in a covered bullock cart, and forwarded from station to station across the continent, until he reached Bombay. On the confines of Aden he was thrust forth out of British territory, bereft of everything to which a life of luxury had accustomed him, and history knows him no more. It was heard afterwards that he reached the holy city of Mecca in safety, and lived there in poverty and retirement, until he died.

One trial yet remained, an echo of the Mutiny after fifteen years, so, long a period indeed that it seemed like an act of Fate, designed expressly to confound a man, who thought himself after this lapse of time to be supremely safe. Description has been made in these pages of Sir Hope Grant's gallant action at Shamsabad on the 27th January 1858. The rebel commander, whose temerity in invading the district was visited with the severest punishment in this fight, was one Niaz Mohammad. He had made himself master of Budaun District, and after his utter rout at the hands of General Grant fled the country. He too went to Mecca. In 1872, wearied of exile, and unconstrained by any penalty, such as that which menaced his fellow exile at Mecca, he took service with the Nawab of Junagarh, and in his suite was rash enough to visit Bombay. He was recognised, arrested, tried and condemned to death. A conflict of opinion subsequently arose among the Judges of the High Court. Since it was found that he was really a subject of the Rampur State, his sentence was changed to one of transportation for life to the Andamans, and there he finished his adventurous career.

By the winter of 1859 tranquility had been restored in the North-West Provinces, and it only remained for the Civil Authorities to mark the event by the holding of a series of Durbars, one of which was to take place at Fatehgarh. Not only was it fitting to commemorate the opening of a new regime, during which Government was henceforth to be under the Crown, but there were rewards to bestow, and a formal exhibition of authority to make upon the parade ground, which a little more than two

years previously had been the scene of such lawless defiance of it. Eight years had passed since the last visit of a Governor-General to Fatehgarh; and it was now decided to make arrangements for Lord Canning's camp on the same spot as that selected for the Durbar of Lord Dalhousie on the 26th December, 1851. The ground, then, between the Diggi Tank and the present Civil Hospital was by the 15th November covered with tents, laid out in the traditional style of Indian Durbars. In this connection, it is a matter of great interest to know that Lord Roberts was the Staff Officer deputed to supervise the work, and it was mention of this duty in his book, "Fortyone years in India", which brought the Durbar to light. Incredible though it may seem, there exists no record of so historical an event either in the District or Commissioner's offices. Further, there is no mention of it in the Government's records of Durbars, which have been held in these provinces. A brief account was found in the Government of India's papers; but here too a drastic attempt to weed out the pages is only too plainly visible. The existing narrative begins abruptly with a description of the actual ceremony, and nothing is said of the arrangements leading up to it.

Lord Canning had just previously held a Durbar at Cawnpore; and neither there nor at Fatehgarh was it a particularly splendid one. The Viceroy, however, as he was now to be styled, moved up the Grand Trunk Road with a sufficiently large following, Lady Canning and he driving in a carriage with outriders. They reached Fatehgarh on the 14th November, and the Durbar was held the next day. The Principal guest was the Nawab of Rampur, who had his separate camp; and according to the rules of etiquette the guns fired salutes, while official calls were paid and returned. The Durbar itself was short, and little of the usual pageantry was seen. Ceremonious presents were offered and suitable acknowledgement made by gifts in return, called Khillats. The Company of Durbaris, who had been invited, was not a numerous one. The list of names discloses one or two persons of interest, notably Hardeo Bakhsh Singh of Dharampur, and Lalju, the protector of David Churcher and Major Robertson. Others, who had rendered service of not so striking a character,

or were of humbler rank, were called to a local Durbar, held by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Edmonstone, in the following month. On the 16th November the ceremonies ended with a parade of the 8th Foot, now the King's Regiment. Lord Canning left without any further show almost at once. He was the fourth Governor-General to hold a Durbar on the parade ground and, so far as is known, the last one. His Durbar, and that of the Lieutenant-Governor a month later, formed together the official termination of the episode of the Mutiny at Fatehgarh ; and henceforth the annals of the district have little to relate other than the story of agricultural progress during years of undisturbed peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

COSTUMES AND CUSTOMS.

THE question is often asked "What did the troops wear during the Mutiny, especially on their heads?" From such research as has been possible the answer appears to be "Almost anything".

Sola Topis were in existence when the Mutiny broke out, but were by no means universally adopted, even by the Company's European troops. A contemporary photograph shows the Madras Fusiliers, who came north to help the Bengal army, wearing them, but a print showing the Bengal Fusiliers marching down from the Simla Hills at the outbreak puts that unit's rank and file into what looks like a round forage cap without peak or neck curtain. Their officers are, however, wearing helmets somewhat similar in shape to the French Colonial pattern. Another print showing them at the storming of Delhi gives them neck curtains, but still no peak, while some of them are wearing what looks like a crude pagari. Sergeant Owen, however, always refers to his regiment, the Madras Fusiliers, as the "Blue Caps", referring to the colour of the covers to their forage caps, and does not mention topis. Maude also says that in the Spring of 1858 they were wearing "Blue covers to their caps". There is no doubt that, as the campaign wore on, and original issues wore out or were lost, individuals did the best they could for themselves, and the ideal of uniformity went by the board.

British officers of Native Regiments usually wore a helmet, though some cavalry officers adopted a pagari. In a group of Hodson's Horse Hodson himself is wearing a pagari, but another officer alongside him, believed to be Macdowell, is wearing a helmet. Younghusband, when killed at the action of the Kali Nadi, was wearing a helmet, and Sir Hugh Gough mentions it as having a fate attached to it, no less than three owners having been killed in it, and he congratulated himself on having twice failed to acquire it. For a long time he had been obliged to wear a forage cap with a pagari wrapped round it.

The 9th Lancers wore peaked forage caps with white covers and curtains. Anson, writing to his wife in front of Delhi, says "What the men want just now are padded curtains to their cap covers. Their heads, owing to the small size and shape of the forage caps they wear, are very inadequately protected from the sun." (July 1857.)

The men of the Naval Brigade made no alteration to their sea kit except for the addition of white cotton covers and curtains to their straw hats.

The Highland Brigade, fresh out from England, wore the feather bonnet, at all events until the summer of 1858, and many considered it a very superior form of head-dress as a protection against the sun. In the hot weather at all events it was provided with a khaki cloth or cotton shade on the left side, opposite the tails. Private Darge, of the Grenadier Company of the 79th Highlanders, is recorded as having returned from one of the actions before Lucknow in March 1858 with an arrow stuck through his feather bonnet, and Lieutenant Wimberley as having had part of his shot away. In May 1858 the men of this Regiment are noted as having turned the tails towards the sun, which seems to show that the khaki shades were not worn or proved inadequate. The height of the bonnet had been cut down to twelve inches after the Crimea campaign. The 92nd Highlanders, who were mostly employed in Central India, do not appear to have used the feather bonnet much, although they had it with them. They wore forage caps with thickly padded covers, and curtains made to stand well away from the neck.

The 93rd Highlanders were very great believers in the feather bonnet. They considered it was a good protection, both from the sun and the sword. Alexander writes of the battle of Bareilly on the 5th May 1858 that "the heat was fearful, in fact, I have since heard that it was the hottest day on which British soldiers were ever called upon to fight a general action. This I do know, that Brevet Major Dawson of my regiment, who carried a thermometer in his holsters, showed it to me after I had joined the regiment in the afternoon, marking 151 degrees where we were standing in the sun. Yet the 93rd only lost one man killed

by the sun, whilst the Wing of the 82nd Foot lost eight men so killed, the whole of the European portion of the force losing only eighteen men altogether, of whom eleven died of heat apoplexy. We—wearing feather bonnets—had, too, fewer men disabled by heat apoplexy than any of the other regiments, though by the evening the hospitals were all crowded with cases." It is doubtful, however, whether the bonnet was so good as made out, as the records of the 79th Highlanders contain reference to many men killed by the sun when on the march in Oudh and Rohilkhand.

The Bengal Horse Artillery started the campaign in bright metal helmets, and General Light once told General MacMunn that he marched out of Meerut with Tombs' Troop, *en route* for Delhi on the 27th May 1857, in these helmets, dress jackets, white leathers and knee boots. A mile out of Meerut Tombs ordered his men to rip off the high red collars of their jackets, and no doubt other sources of discomfort followed shortly.

The Punjab Native troops were all in some sort of khaki, with pagaris to match as a rule. Hodson's Horse wore red or pink pagaris, on account of which they were familiarly known as the Flamingos, and the 2nd Punjab Cavalry wore blue.

Dress below the neck seems to have been as varied as the head-dresses. The troops who had been before Delhi were almost all in khaki by the time they had reached Oudh, though the British troops had all started the campaign in their red. Those who arrived later from England were in red or blue till they got worn out. Some units seem to have adopted white cotton jackets, but the more usual replacement was undoubtedly khaki, though in some cases this seems to have been worn over the scarlet. General Ewart, formerly in the 93rd Highlanders, speaking of a sword cut he received before Lucknow, says "I had luckily worn my red tunic under the brown holland one, so the cut was not so deep as it would otherwise have been."

The Records of the 8th Foot contain the following description of the kit worn by the Regiment on its arrival in Cawnpore from Delhi with Hope Grant's (Greathed's) Column in October 1857. "The dress of the Regiment throughout consisted of a forage cap and cover and turban,

jacket and trousers of american drill, and a long cotton cloth wound round the waist, the whole dyed khakee or dust colour."

The Regimental History of the 79th Cameron Highlanders contains some very interesting details of kit issued on embarkation and while in India. The basic kit was as for the Crimea, but for the voyage out to India each man was issued with a sea-kit bag, a smock frock (twill), a pair of canvas trousers, a pair of ship shoes, a straw hat, a black sateen Necktie, a clasp knife, two bars of sea soap, a brush for scrubbing clothes, and a tin plate. On disembarking at Calcutta in November 1857, they got a service blanket and a "soda-water bottle, covered with brown leather, to replace wooden water keg." Presumbly this latter article was issued for use with water only, in exchange for the water keg which might be expected to open out in the heat. On reaching Allahabad in the following month the new issues consisted of a razai, a blue durrie, and a gunny bag between every two men. This held two men's clothing, knapsacks and bedding. Four of these bags constituted one camel load. In March 1858, after the final capture of Lucknow, the smocks issued on board ship were dyed blue and taken into wear instead of the scarlet cloth Highland tunic, and one can imagine that the change was very welcome. At the same time volunteers who had been attached, and for whom feather bonnets were naturally not available, were issued with a light blue muslin pagari and quilted sunshade for wear with the glengarry. Khaki was, however, worn throughout the Mutiny in the hot weather, and the regiment also had loose red serge jackets with green facings. By June of 1858 the 79th were garrisoning Fatehgarh, and it appears to have dawned on a benign Government that the existing head-dresses were not entirely suitable for hot weather campaigning in India, for, in addition to new shoes, three coats and three pairs of white cotton trousers, one wicker helmet per man was issued. Alas! the benignity of the Government did not go very far, for these articles were on payment! It is interesting to note, from later entries in this History, that when on the march in relief the feather bonnet was worn, presumably to save carriage, and the wicker helmets were tied together and slung on to the tent camels.

In a letter written on the 22nd April 1858, just after the final capture of Lucknow, Sir William Russell, "The Times" Correspondent, gave the following amusing description of the chaotic condition of the dress of the army. "I have often thought how astonished, and something more, the Horse Guards, or the authorities, or the clothing departments, or whatever or whoever it may be that is interested in the weighty matters of uniform, and decides on the breadth of cuffs, the size of lace, the nature of trowser-straps, and the cut of buttons, would be at the aspect of this British Army in India! Except the Highlanders—and when they left Lucknow they were panting for their summer clothes, and had sent officers to Cawnpore to hurry them—not a corps that I have seen sports a morsel of pink, or shows a fragment of English scarlet. The Highlanders wear eccentric shades of gray linen over their bonnets; the kilt is discarded, or worn out in some regiments; and flies, mosquitoes, and the sun are fast rendering it impossible in the others. Already many officers who can get trews have discarded the ponderous folds of woollen stuff tucked into massive wads over their hips, and have provided some defence against the baking of their calves by day, and have sought to protect their persons against the assaults of innumerable entomological enemies by night.

"The artillery have been furnished with excellent head-covers, and good frocks of light stuff. Lord Cardigan, in his most sagacious moments, would never light on the fact that those darkfaced, bearded horsemen, clad in snowy white, with flagless lances glittering in the sun, are the war-hardened troopers of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers; or that yonder gray tunicked cavaliers, with ill-defined head-dresses, belong to the Queen's Bays. The 7th Hussars, the military train, have idiosyncracies of their own; but there is some sort of uniformity among the men. Among the officers individual taste and phantasy have full play. The infantry regiments, for the most part, are dressed in linen frocks, dyed carky (*sic*) or gray slate colour—slate blue trowsers, and shakoes protected by puggeries, or linen covers, from the sun. The peculiarity of carky is that the dyer seems to be unable to match it in any two pieces, and that it exhibits endless varieties of shades, varying with every washing; so that

the effect is rather various than pleasing on the march or on the parade ground.

"But the officers, as I have said, do not confine themselves to carky or anything else. It is really wonderful what fecundity of invention in dress there is, after all, in the British mind when its talents can be properly developed. To begin with the headdress. The favourite wear is a helmet of varying shape, but of uniform ugliness. In a moment of inspiration some Calcutta hatter conceived, after a close study of the antique models, the great idea of reviving, for every-day use, the awe-inspiring head-piece of Pallas Athene; and that remarkably unbecoming affair—Minerva was above caring for appearances—became the prototype of the Indian topi in which the wisest and greatest of mankind looks simply ridiculous and ludicrous. Whatever it might be in polished steel or burnished metal, the helmet is a decided failure in felt or wicker-work, or pith, as far as the external effect is concerned. It is variously fabricated, with many varieties of interior ducts and passages leading to escape-holes for imaginary hot air in the front or top, and around it are twisted infinite colours and forms of turbans with fringed ends and laced fringes. When a peacock's feather, with the iris end displayed, is inserted in the hole in the top of the helmet, or is stuck in the puggery around it, the effect of the covering is much enhanced, and the style is rather patronised by some of the staff.

"The coat may be of any cut or material; but shooting jackets hold their own in the highest posts, and a carky-coloured jerkin, with a few inches of iron curb-chain sewn on the shoulders to resist sabre cuts, is a general favourite. The sword is of all descriptions, except the regulation, which is not much in vogue, and it is slung in many ways in many belts, of which the regulation again is rarely seen. There are native tulwars with English handles and guards, old cavalry sabres with new hilts, Damascus blades in leathern sheaths; and these are hung by broad shoulder-belts at the hips, or depend from iron hooks fixed in broad buff waistbelts. The revolver—scarcely a 'regulation' weapon for the army yet—is universally worn; and I have seen more than one pistol in one of

the cummerbunds, or long sashes, which some of our officers wear round the stomach in oriental fashion.

"As to the clothing of the nether man, nothing but a series of photographs could give the least notion of the numerous combinations which can be made out of a leg, leather, pantaloons, and small-clothes. Long stage boots of buff-coloured leather, for the manufacture of which Cawnpore is famous, pulled up over knee-breeches of leather or regimental trowsers, are common. There are officers who prefer wearing their Wellingtons outside their pantaloons, thus exhibiting tops of very bright colours; and the boot and baggy trowsers of the Zouave officer are not unknown."

Lest it should be thought that it was merely the irresponsible youth of the army which thus flouted custom and regulation it must be added that Russell gives the following description of Sir Colin Campbell's kit:—"Sola helmet, shirt-sleeves, tartan waistcoat with cotton sleeves, and moleskin trowsers." And very nice too!

So much for costumes. For information as to customs of the camp and line of march reliance has to be placed on the writings of those to whom such things were not commonplace, and it is fortunate that those who took part in the operations which have been described include three such persons, Captain Oliver Jones and Lieutenant E. H. Verney, both of the Royal Navy, and Sir William Russell. The most striking thing about their descriptions is the appalling size of the Army's tail. There seem to have been no restrictions on the number of servants which an officer took with him, and very little on his kit. Captain Jones says that try as he would he could not keep his staff down to less than nine. These consisted of a bearer, a coolie, a bhisti, a dhobi and a camel driver, with a sais and a grass cutter each for two ponies. Many officers had far more, and when it is realised that it was quite a common thing for each servant to be accompanied by his wife and children, astonishment at the length of Colonel Seaton's convoy becomes tempered with understanding. Every unit and many individuals made their own private arrangements for transport, with no interference from anybody provided they kept more or less in the line of march. Elephants, camels, bullock carts of all sizes,

and even buggies and other traps, all were to be seen following behind the army. The necessity of providing food for all these increased the already horrid proportions of the tail. An enormous bazar, which provided almost every requirement, was laid out each day in camp. Sanitation was to all intents and purposes non-existent, and the only matter for surprise is that cholera was not more frequent than it was. Many officers carried a small farmyard about with them. Captain Jones had a goat and half a dozen fowls, to supply him with milk and eggs, but in the absence of any ration issues, combined with a similar absence of restrictions on transport, something of the sort was probably inevitable.

The troops appear to have done very little for themselves. Tents were pitched and struck by Kalassis, who added still more to the size of the column, and the ambulance arrangements consisted of dhoolies at the scale of one to every ten men. As every dhoolie had four bearers and one spare, this implied some 400 to 500 extra followers to every regiment. The tents mostly used were of the single pole "Staff Sergeants" variety for the officers at least, the Commander-in-Chief occupying the same type. Jones mentions that "these, in the junior ranks, are tenanted by two and sometimes three officers. They can be carried by one large or two small camels, whereas formerly every officer had a large tent which required four or five camels to carry it, and those of field officers were almost as large and luxurious as a good house, and of course required a proportionate number of elephants or camels and their attendants." No wonder that one officer complained that he found time hang very heavy on his hands in camp, as it was impossible to carry many books around when he only had two camels for his kit.

Some mention has been made in earlier chapters of the lack of proper messing arrangements in many cases, but a few additional remarks may be of interest. For chhota hazri goat's milk laced with rum or brandy was popular. Breakfast, when in camp, was at about 9 or 10 o'clock, and was a really solid meal, with "curries, stews, ragouts, cold meat etc." The feeding arrangements of officers on detached duty, patrol or raid, were elementary in the extreme, and practically resulted in living on the country. Sir Hugh Gough mentions chappaties and milk as a staple diet

on one occasion, and of another he says, "Our supplies were, indeed, so limited that we could only muster amongst four of us one small tin of sardines. It served to flavour the dry chappaties which we carried in our haversacks—we ate the sardines, and then scooped up the oil with our chappaties with much gusto. Chappaties are proverbially indigestible, but flavoured with sardine oil and hunger sauce we found them excellent." After an action at Cawnpore he writes "We all bivouacked where we could; such confusion, and such hunger! Little or no food of any kind. I was generally pretty well off in this line, as I possessed a riding camel, on which my faithful khitmutgar, 'Mr. Bux,' laden with some light provisions and the materials for making tea, used to follow me wherever I went; but on this occasion he was *non est* and I was glad to get a portion of some cooked rations and a crust of bread from a Sergeant of Highlanders." He also particularly mentions the excellent Mess run by the 7th Punjab Infantry when they were at Sarai Miran, where they "fed sumptuously every day and had a right good time of it."

Very little has been discovered about the rations of the men or their method of issue and preparation. From the following entry in the Digest of Services of the 8th Foot it seems that much was left to the discretion of units, and that the discretion varied. "Owing to the excellent arrangements of the Regiment the men were never throughout the campaign without rations; the plan adopted was to draw them the previous night and carry them under charge of the Quartermaster-Sergeant with the Regiment. No time was lost on arrival at the ground in procuring them from the Commissariat, and the men had good suppers and breakfasts whilst other troops were without food."

Camp kit, as understood to-day, was not known. Officers carried an ordinary charpoy about with them to sleep on, and the bathing arrangements were primitive. A board was placed outside the door of the tent, on which the officer squatted, clad only in a pair of shorts or the equivalent. His own individual bhisti then arrived with his mussack, and projected a trickle, rising crescendo to a stream, of cold water over his shivering master. When the mussack was empty he dashed inside his tent to dry.

On the march periodical halts were made, but not of the "clock hour" variety. The march usually started before dawn, and the first halt was made soon after daylight. In a march of some 14 miles there would be perhaps three halts, of which the last would be the longest, to allow the quartermaster personnel to go ahead and mark out the camping ground. They varied from ten to twenty minutes in duration. Halting was done by the bugle, the call being passed down the column from Regiment to Regiment. As soon as each unit had made up any lost distance it halted and piled arms in the middle of the road, the men falling out on each side. At the end of the halt another bugle call passed down, the men fell in on their arms, unpiled and marched off once more. Intervals between units on the march were apparently looked on with extreme displeasure, as Captain Jones says "Soon after the army had moved on Sir Colin and his staff would be seen cantering along the line, and woe betide any unlucky regiment which was not closed up, or had an interval between its head and the tail of its predecessor." Many units had their brass and drum and bugle bands, which enlivened the line of march. On arrival at the new camp all fell out till the tents arrived. Officers had their breakfast, which was brought along either in a dhoolie, or on a mule, or by horse and cart. The Naval Brigade made use of an old gun limber. Whatever the form of transport it generally contained some "pale ale".

Sixty rounds of ball ammunition per man were carried by the Infantry. This used to be carried all in one pouch, but the History of the 79th Highlanders records that about 1857 a "pouch to hold 40 rounds replaced the 60 rounds one, and a pouch, also black leather, holding 20 rounds, was issued and worn on the waist belt. A cap pouch, made of buff and worn on the pouch belt, was issued at the same time."

Sports for the officers and men were frequently organised in camp. Anson mentions in a letter dated from Fatehgarh on the 25th January 1858 that he was going to see the sports at 2 o'clock, and opines that "the sailors' race will be worth seeing". Unfortunately no further mention is made of them. Captain Jones, however, tells us a little more about

them, though he too keeps silence on the subject of the sailor's race. "On Monday 25th there were some garrison races, and great fun they were. Some ground was chosen near the camp, which was in good order and well suited for the occasion. One course was level for the flat races, and another had several banks and ditches, with brushwood stuck on top for the steeple chases. There were several races and matches, and though neither the horses nor the riding were as good as on Epsom Downs yet I daresay the spectators were just as much amused and excited, and plenty of money changed hands." It is a pity that there is not enough information by which to identify the site of these sports. The camp itself, of course, was on the parade ground. It is possible that the old race course, near Rakha, was used. At a sports meeting in another place a buffalo race was staged, each buffalo being mounted by two bluejackets and urged in the right direction by many others. Cricket matches were also regularly played in Fatehgarh during January 1858.

A curious chance has disclosed the fact that just after the Mutiny Fatehgarh was the scene of an ambitious Amateur Theatrical performance. While search was being made in the District records for some reference to the Governor-General's Durbar of the 15th November 1859, it was discovered that for no apparent reason a printed copy of a handbill announcing the performance had been bound up in a volume of Gazettes. The scene was the "Theatre Royal, Fatehgarh", and the performers the "Amateurs of the 8th 'King's' Regiment and Royal Artillery". The date is unfortunately only given (added in manuscript) as "Monday 17". Two plays were presented, the first being "a Drama in two Acts entitled ; The Dream At Sea, or the Haunted Cave", and the second "Bombastes Furioso ! ". In between the two plays was a song, of which neither the nature nor the singer is specified. With the exception of one officer (Lieutenant Lovekin) who took the part of General Bombastes the Dramatis Personnæ are all rank and file of the units mentioned, the 8th Foot predominating. The handbill is unfortunately too long to reproduce *in extenso* but the concluding portion is interesting and amusing : —

Performance will take place at 8·15 precisely.

Doors open at 7. 45.

Tickets for the First Boxes to be had at the Officers' Mess, 8th (King's) Regiment.

Tickets for the Second Boxes to be had at the Sergeants' Mess, 8th (King's) Regiment.

NO MONEY TAKEN AT THE DOORS.

Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to send their Chairs not later than 5 o'clock p. m., with their names on the back of them, after that time places will not be kept for them.

TERMS OF ADMISSION.

First Box, Rs. 2. Second Boxes, Re. 1. Pit 8 annas.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The seating arrangements in the Theatre Royal seem to have been primitive.

The most popular drinks were beer, porter and brandy. Soda water was available in many places, including Fatehgarh, though the Mutiny interrupted its production there. Champagne, Claret and Madeira were also drunk, and formed the greater part of the cargo of the boat belonging to Mr. Brierley which is mentioned in the account of the first boat journey. Whiskey was certainly not in general use, and is not believed to have become popular in India till about 1873. Only one reference to it has been found, Captain Medley (his book was published in 1858) mentioning it, or brandy, as being an excellent thing at the first halt on a December morning.

The armament of the Native Cavalry was varied. Every man had a sword, for which Wale's Horse was paying Rs. 2-8 each. Some men, in some corps at all events, had lances, and the alternative firearm was either a carbine or a pistol. In October 1857 the same unit was writing to Ferozepore Arsenal asking for 80 more carbines to supplement the 120 already issued, as the men had great faith in the weapon. That ammunition was to some extent checked, even in those days, is evident from the following letter from the Adjutant 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry (formerly known as Wale's Horse) to the two young officers with a detachment.

"I am directed by the Officer Commanding to desire you will have an inspection parade of the Troops under your Command, and pay particular attention to the ammunition in pouch. Each man before leaving the Regiment was supplied with 10 rounds of ball ammunition and 12 caps, and unless any portion of this has been expended on service, Captain Jones will not pass over any report made of a deficiency of this number, and directs you will before paying the men for February and March, which pay has just been remitted to you under charge of Pay Duffadars and 2 Duffadars and 4 Sowars 4th Troop (the latter will remain with their Troops and not return to Headquarters) fine the men for any such deficiency of ammunition at the rate of one (1) anna per cartridge and (3) three pies per cap. There are certain allowances to be made for broken cartridges, but in this case the ball must be forthcoming."

The guns for the Mutiny campaign were provided by the Naval Brigade, the Royal Artillery from England, and the Company's Bengal Artillery. The first mainly provided heavy guns, though there were some 9-pr. Field Guns as well. Before entering the field Sir William Peel had fitted the naval guns with an improved system of sighting, which was a great success, and seems to have consisted of setting the backsight close to the breech instead of half way along the barrel. The Royal Artillery Horse and Field guns were also provided with sights, but the Bengal Artillery disdained them. Captain Jones writes "I was much surprised at the heavy field guns in India not being sighted, and asked a distinguished officer in the Bengal Artillery how it was. He said he did not think it was of any consequence—that they get the range with one or two shots, and this did very well! The Royal Artillery, however, fitted all the guns which came into their charge with sights. I do not know whether the Bengal Artillery thought better of their rough and ready plan or not."

The following description of the Bengal Artillery is of interest, and acknowledgment is due to Colonel Jocelyn, from whose book it is taken.

The usual armament for a Troop of Horse Artillery consisted of five 6-pr. guns and one 12-pr. howitzer. There were teams of six

horses for both gun and wagon, and pole draught was employed. There were no detachment horses, No. 1 and his horse-holder, No. 14, being alone provided with saddle horses, but spare gun teams accompanied the Troop. The gun was driven by Nos. 8, 9 and 10; the off horses being ridden by Nos. 5, 2 and 4. The wagon was driven by Nos. 11, 12 and 13, No. 3 being mounted on the off leader. The wagon as a rule accompanied the gun into action, but if for any reason it did not do so, the leaders were unhooked and followed the gun. No. 2 usually carried the sponge, with the end of the stave in a lance bucket, when the Troop was going into action.

The foot artillery consisted of six European Battalions, each having four companies, and three Native Battalions, each having six companies. Twenty-one companies were employed as Field Artillery, but there was no permanency in this allotment of duties. The personnel of a Field Battery therefore consisted of the officers and men of the company allotted to it (a temporary personnel) and also of some sixty native drivers, a detail of lascars, syces and grass cutters with a few European N. C. Os. in charge of them (a permanent personnel). Their armament was usually five 9-pr. guns and one 24-pr. howitzer, with 130 horses or an equivalent number of bullocks, though sometimes 18-pr. guns and 8″ mortars were employed. Pole draught was employed and there were seats on the axle tree boxes.

The journey of troops up from Calcutta was performed partly by river, partly by rail over the short section which was then open, and partly by bullock train. This last was most uncomfortable. Four men were allotted to a cart, and the only thing that can be said for it is that it was slightly faster than walking and not quite so fatiguing. The normal pace was two and a quarter miles an hour, but the bullocks were changed every eight or nine miles, and longer hours could be spent on the road.

The journey down country was performed in the same manner. The plight of the wounded must indeed have been miserable. General Ewart, who was wounded outside Cawnpore and lost an arm as a result, gives a

description of his journey in his book. After the amputation the wound, as so often happened, turned gangrenous, and for a long time it was doubtful if he would live. At length he turned the corner, and on the 20th January 1858 was just able to hobble about with a stick and the support of his servant on the other side. On the 23rd a Medical Board assembled, recommended him for eighteen months' leave, and told him that he could start at once. He quickly realised that he would have to arrange for his journey to Calcutta himself, and that no Government assistance would be forthcoming. By 10 o'clock the next morning his servant had managed to hire a one-horse gharry of the box type, with one seat facing forward and one backwards. The luggage went on the roof. In this he proceeded by stages the seventy-two miles to railhead, which he reached at 10 p. m. There he found that the Mutineers had burnt all the first class carriages, and he had to travel in an inferior one which shook him badly. The fifty-five miles to Allahabad took four hours. Here he notes "Had stump dressed (which it much required) in the Fort." A most illuminating remark. It is also noteworthy that he had to pay his own passage to England. But that is as nothing to some other financial disabilities under which officers laboured. Maude relates that owing to the death of his pay sergeant, and the disappearance of all the pay papers of his battery, he was debited personally with something like £ 2000 to make good the difference between the amount of pay drawn for the battery and the sum accounted for. Another officer had his horse shot under him and applied for compensation. He was told that as he was not on Field Service, but merely quelling a Mutiny, no kind of application for compensation could be entertained. Some parts of the Administration seem to have been well up-to-date, if not before their time!

This Chapter opened with a question and an answer. In case the reader should feel inclined to close it with another—"What has all this to do with Fatehgarh?"—the answer is also provided—"Very little."

APPENDIX I.

List of Books consulted.

1. Selections from State Papers, Vols. II and III.

2. Gazetteers of Farrukhabad, Etah, Mainpuri, Hardoi and Budaun.

3. Records of the Intelligence Department, by Sir W. Muir. (1902).

4. Christian Tombs and Monuments in the U. P., by E. A. H. Blunt, I. C. S. (1911).

5. Histories of the Indian Mutiny, by Kaye and Malleson. (1865-80).

6. A History of the Indian Mutiny, by G. W. Forrest, C. I. E. (1904).

7. History of the Indian Mutiny, by C. Ball. (No date.)

8. Annals of the Indian Rebellion. (Printed by Sanders Cones & Co., Calcutta. 1859-60.)

9. Contemporary Collectorate Records, Fatehgarh.

10. The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad, by C. W. Irvine, I. C. S. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1878-79.)

11. The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, by Lt. Gen. Shadwell, C. B. (8881).

12. Narrative of Events in Furruckabad District in 1857-58.—(Official.)

13. The Story of My Escape from Fatehgarh, by Ga 'n S. Jones. (1859).

14. Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian, by W. Edwards, I. C. S. (1866).

15. The Shannon's Brigade in India, by Lieut E. H. Verney, R. N. (1862).

16. Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India, by Captain Oliver J. Jones, R. N. (1859).

17. Forty-one Years in India, by Lord Roberts. (1897).

18. Incidents in India and Memories of the Mutiny, by F. W. Pitt. (1896).

19. From Cadet to Colonel, by Major General Sir Thomas Seaton, K. C. B. (1866).

20. With H. M. 9th Lancers during the Indian Mutiny, by Bt. Major O. H. St. G. Anson, (1896).

21. Recollections of a Highland Subaltern, by Lt. Col. Gordon Alexander, 93rd Highlanders.

22. Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny, by W. Forbes-Mitchell, late Sergeant, 93rd-Sutherland Highlanders. (1894).

23. Reminiscences of Military Service with the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, by Surgeon-General W. Munro, C. B. (1883).

24. The Story of a Soldier's Life, by Lt. General J. A. Ewart, C. B. (1881).

25. Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army during the Mutiny of 1857, by Colonel George Bourchier, C. B. (1859).

26. Memories of the Mutiny, by Col. F. C. Maude, V. C., C. B., R. A. (1894).

27. The History of the Royal and Indian Artillery in the Mutiny of 1857, by Colonel J. R. J. Jocelyn. (1915).

28. The Indian Mutiny in Perspective, by Lt. Gen. Sir G. MacMunn. (1931).

29. My Diary in India, by W. H. Russell. (1860).

30. Incidents in the Sepoy War of 1857-58, (General Sir Hope Grant's letters), edited by Captain H. Knollys, R. A. (1873).

31. Robert Stewart Fullerton : A Memoir. (1928).

32. Lady Login's Recollections, 1820-1904. (1916).

33. The Bayard of India, by Captain L. J. Trotter. (1903).

34. Memoirs of my Indian Career, by Sir George Campbell. (1893).

35. Oude in 1857, by Colonel John Bonham, C. B. (1928).

36. Hodson of Hodson's Horse, by the Rev. G. H. Hodson. (1859).

37. A leader of Light Horse, by Captain L. J. Trotter. (1901).

38. Hodson's Horse, by Major F. G. Cardew, O. B. E. (1928).

39. Old Memories, by Gen. Sir Hugh Gough, V. C., G. C. B. (1897).

40. A Year's Campaigning in India, by Captain J. G. Medley, B. E. (1858).

41. Reminiscences of a Veteran of the Days of the Great Indian Mutiny, by Sergeant A. Owen. (2nd Edn. 1915).

42. Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India, by Charles Raikes. (1858).

43. Some Reminiscences of Three-quarters of a Century in India, by E. J. Churcher. (1909).

44. The History of the Bengal European Regiment, by Lt.-Col. P. R. Innes. (1885).

45. Regimental Records and Histories of the 8th, 32nd, 38th, 42nd, 53rd, 79th, 80th, 82nd, 92nd Regiments; 11th K. E. O. Lancers (Probyn's Horse), P. A. V. O. Cavalry: 32nd Sikh Pioneers; 4th Punjab Infantry.

APPENDIX II.

Modern Nomenclature of Troops engaged in the Indian Mutiny.

A. BRITISH TROOPS.

8th Foot.	The Kings's Regiment (Liverpool).
23rd Fusrs.	The Royal Welch Fusiliers.
32nd Foot.	1st. Bn. Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.
38th Foot.	1st Bn. The South Staffordshire Regiment.
42nd H'drs.	1st Bn. The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders).
53rd Foot.	1st Bn. The King's Shropshire Light Infantry.
64th Foot.	1st Bn. The North Staffordshire Regiment.
75th Foot.	1st Bn. The Gordon Highlanders.
78th H'drs.	2nd Bn. The Seaforth Highlanders.
79th H'drs.	1st Bn. The Q. O. Cameron Highlanders.
80th Foot.	2nd Bn. The South Staffordshire Regiment.
82nd Foot.	2nd Bn. The Prince of Wales's Volunteers.
84th Foot.	2nd Bn. The York and Lancaster Regiment.
92nd H'drs.	2nd Bn. The Gordon Highlanders.
93rd H'drs.	2nd Ban. The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders.
1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	101st Regiment of Foot (Royal Bengal Fusiliers)—1st Bn. The Royal Munster Fusiliers.
3rd European Regiment.	107th Regiment of Foot (Bengal Infantry)—2nd Bn. The Royal Sussex Regiment.
The Military Train.	Royal Army Service Corps.

B. INDIAN CAVALRY.

1st Punjab Cavalry.	21st P. A. V. O. Cavalry (F. F.)—P. A. V. O. Cavalry (11th F. F.).
2nd Punjab Cavalry.	22nd Sam Browne's Cavalry (F. F.)—Sam Browne's Cavalry (12th (F. F.).

3rd Punjab Cavalry.	23rd Cavalry (F. F.)--P A. V. O. Cavalry (11th F. F.).
5th Punjab Cavalry.	25th Cavalry (F. F.)—Sam Browne's Cavalry (12th F. F.).
Hodson's Horse.	9th and 10th Hodson's Horse—Hodson's Horse (4th D. C. O. Lancers.).
Wale's Horse.	11th K. E. O. Lancers (Probyn's Horse) Probyn's Horse (5th K. E O. Lancers.).

C. INDIAN INFANTRY.

1st Punjab Infantry.	55th Coke's Rifles (F. F.)—1st Bn. (Coke's) 13th Frontier Force Rifles.
2nd Punjab Infantry.	56th Punjabi Rifles (F. F.)--2nd Bn. 13th Frontier Force Rifles.
4th Punjab Infantry.	57th Wilde's Rifles (F. F.)—4th Bn. (Wilde's) 13th Frontier Force Rifles.
5th Punjab Infantry.	58th Vaughan's Rifles (F. F.)—5th Bn. 13th Frontier Force Rifles.
6th Punjab Infantry.	59th Royal Scinde Rifles (F. F.)—6th Royal Bn. (Scinde) 13th Frontier Force Rifles.
7th Punjab Infantry.	19th Punjabis—1st Bn. 14th Punjab Regiment.
The Baluch Battalion.	127th Q. M. O. Baluch Light Infantry—3rd Bn. (Q. M. O.) 10th Baluch Regiment.

D. PIONEERS.

The Punjab Sappers.	32nd Sikh Pioneers—part of the Corps of Sikh Pioneers.

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NOTE—In the case of Indian Regiments the pre-re-organisation title is given in addition to that by which they are known at present.

APPENDIX III.

The Officers of the Tenth Native Infantry, as shown in the

EAST INDIA REGISTER AND ARMY LIST FOR 1857.

Season of Appointment.	Name.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	Remarks.
	Colonel.			
1805	T. Dickinson ...	10-5-1853	28-11-1854 Maj. Gen.	On furlough.
	Lt.-Colonel.			
1813	G. A. Smith ...	3-10-1848	28-11-1854 Colonel.	Killed, Cawnpore.
	Major.			
1824	Robert Ramsay ...	14-7-1853	11-11-1851	1st. Asst. Mily. Auditor General.
	Captains.			
1825	William Lindsay ...	23-11-1841	20-6-1854 Major.	A. A. G., Cawnpore.
1827	Robert Munro ...	10-9-1845	20-6-1854 Major.	Killed, Bithur.
1827	John Coke ...	28-3-1848	20-6-1854 Major.	Comdg. 1st. Punjab Infy. at Kohat.
1827	Johnson Phillott ...	1-1-1851	20-6-1854 Major.	Killed, Manpur Katri.
1835	Charles Reid ...	1-10-1852	2-10-1852 Major.	Serving with Sirmoor Local Bn.
1838	F. D'Oyley Bignell ...	14-7-1853	...	Died on Ganges.
1840	W. T. Phillimore ...	...	8-3-1855	Killed, Cawnpore.
	Lieutenants.			
1840	R. L. Thompson ...	16-7-1842	18-9-1855 Captain.	Comdg. 1st. Oude Irregular Force. Served with Volunteer Cavalry.
1840	Wm. B. Irwin ...	21-4-1845	12-12-1855 Captain.	Asst. Resident, Nepal.
1841	Wm. George Law ...	10-9-1845	25-1-1856 Captain.	Away from Regt. Killed at Delhi.
1842	J. E. L. Willows ...	29-3-1850	...	Away from Regt.
1842	E. M. Martineau ...	1-1-1851	...	Away from Regt.

APPENDIX III.—(*Contd.*)

Season of Appointment.	Name.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
1844	N. W. Trenchard ...	25-6-1852	...	On furlough.
1847	H. J. Fitzgerald ...	1-10-1852	...	Killed, Manpur Katri.
1848	E. S. Whish ...	14-7-1853	...	Away from Regt.
1849	C. P. Hildebrand ...	13-11-1855	...	With Pegu Bn.
1850	J. R. Simpson ...	...	...	Killed, Manpur Katri.
1851	C. W. Swetenham ...	...	...	Wounded Singhirampur. Killed Cawnpore.
	Ensigns.			
1852	H. A. Browne ...	10-1-1853	13-6-1852	Away from Regt.
1854	D. Henderson ...	15-11-1854	4-1-1854	Offg. Adjt. Killed Cawnpore.
1855	R. Eckford ...	18-3-1856	20-12-1855	Killed, Manpur Katri.
	Also (though not in Regimental List)			
1856	R. S. Byrne ...	...	...	Killed, Cawnpore.
	Adjutant......................H. A. Browne.		3-5-1856	
	Interpreter & Qr. Mr....H. J. Fitzgerald		20-3-1856	
	Surgeon.................... .. J. Greig.		28-11-1855	Dinapore.
	Asst. Surgeon . ...T. G. Heathcote.		23-2-1856	Killed, Cawnpore.

NOTES.

Although no great qualities were displayed by those Officers of the 10th Native Infantry who were unfortunate enough to be present with their Regiment at the outbreak of the Mutiny, several of those who were away from their unit had distinguished careers, of which a few notes are given.

1. William Lindsay. Was killed in Wheeler's entrenchment at Cawnpore, by a round shot, on the 18th June 1857. His wife had died there the day before.

2. John Coke. Raised the 1st Punjab Infantry at Peshawar in 1849, and commanded it until 1858. During the Mutiny was in fourteen engagements, including the Siege of Delhi. Rose to Major General, and received the K. C. B. Was Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1879. Died the 18th December, 1897.

3. Charles Reid. Served in Upper Scinde under Sir Charles Napier in 1843. Was with the Sirmur Battalion at Budiwal, Aliwal and Sobraon. Served in the 2nd Burma War. Commanded the Sirmur Battalion throughout the Mutiny. Was severely wounded on the 14th September, 1857, at Delhi, where he received a Brevet Lt.-Colonelcy Was in the Oudh Campaign of 1858-1859. Became Colonel and A. D. C. to the Queen. Major General in 1867. Lieutenant General in 1875. Brevet General in 1877 Received the thanks of Parliament and the Government of India. Received the K. C. B. in 1871 and the G. C. B. in 1886. Died on the 23rd August, 1901.

4. William Boyd Irwin. Served with the Gwalior Contingent in 1851. Served in the Burma War, 1852-1853 (Medal with clasp for Pegu). Major 18th February 1861. Lt.-Col. 12th December 1866. Colonel 12th December 1871. Major General 26th August 1876.

5. Jeffery Edward Lake Willows. Served in the Burma War of 1852-1833 (Medal with clasp for Pegu). Captain 23rd June 1857. Major 23rd June 1862. Lt.-Col. 23rd June 1868, Colonel 23rd June 1873. Major General 9th June 1877.

6. Charles Phayre Hildebrand. Served in the Burma War of 1852-1853. Captain 18th November 1857. Major 26th February 1867. Lt.-Col. 10th November 1868. Colonel 10th November 1873. Major General 10th December 1883.

APPENDIX IV.

List of the inhabitants of Fatehgarh at the outbreak of the Mutiny, and their subsequent fate.

1. Ahern, Conductor and Mrs. Clothing Agency. Ahern killed in the Fort. Mrs. Ahern killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.
2. Alexander, Mr. Killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.
3. Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. (his mother). Clothing Agency. Anderson drowned at Manpur Katri. Mrs. Anderson killed on Parade Ground on the 23rd July.
4. Atkins, Mr. and Mrs. Killed on Parade Ground on the 23rd July.
5. Bellington, Mr. Clerk (office not known). Killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.
6. Best, Sergeant, Mrs. and three children. Bridge Daroga. Sergeant Best killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Remainder on the 15th.
7. Bignell, Captain, 10th Native Infantry. Swam across Ganges to join his Company, and died of exposure after being pushed out of the boat at Meora Ghat above Kanauj. Swam to Oudh bank and died at Sirriapur, an island now under water. Believed to have been married, possibly to a Musalmani.
8. Boscow, Mr., Mrs. and two children. Pensioner. Mr. Boscow killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Remainder on the 15th.
9. Brierly, Mr. and Mrs. J., and two children. Tent Manufacturer, Boat Agent, Coach Builder and Shopkeeper. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June. Brother and partner of No. 10.
10. Brierly, Mr. and Mrs. R., and one child. Clerk in Collector's office. Mr. Brierly wounded in side at Kusamkhor, where son also wounded. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June. Brother and partner of No. 9.

11. Brierly, the Misses E. and F. Killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

12. Byrne, Ensign, 10th Native Infantry. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

13. Briant, Mr., Mrs. and family. Left by boat for Allahabad on the 23rd May and escaped. (This was the same day that Mrs. Phillott and Mrs. Eckford left by road).

14. Campbell, Rev D. E., Mrs. and two children. Missionary at Rakha. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

15. Catania, Mr. and Mrs. Inspector of Post Offices. Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

16. Cawood, Mr., Mrs. and two children. Head Clerk, Clothing Agency. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

17. Churcher, Mr. D. G. Indigo Planter. Escaped. Died 1908. Buried in the new cemetery. Brother of No. 18. Lived near present Police lines.

18. Churcher, Mr. T. H. Indigo Planter. Killed at Manpur Katri. Brother of, and lived with, No. 17.

19. Collins, Mrs. Hannah. Killed in Bungalow on site of present Company Bagh on the 18th June. Mother of No. 20.

20. Collins, Miss. Daughter of No. 19. Kidnapped by a tailor on the 18th June, and killed next day in the Bungalow.

21. Donald, Mr. Planter of Budaun District. Came with Mr. Edwards. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Father of No. 22.

22. Donald, Mr. Son of No. 21, with whom he came and with whom he died.

23. Doran, Mr. J. Agent to Maclean, Guise and Co. at Mehdi Ghat. Was concealed in disguise at Jankhat Taira, and escaped.

24. Eckford, Ensign, 10th N. I. Killed at Manpur Katri. Sent his wife to Allahabad by road on the 23rd May. She was never heard of again.

25. Edwards, Mr. Collector of Budaun. Escaped with Mr. Probyn.

26. Elliott, Sergeant, Mrs. and five children. Formerly in Bengal Sappers. Was employed by Maharajah Duleep Singh to look after his Toshak khana (No. 3 Bungalow, demolished in 1925.) Lived in a small bungalow alongside. Was son-in-law of Maclean, No. 57. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

27. Faulkner, Mr., Mrs. and two children. Pensioner. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June

28. Finlay, Mr. and Miss. Clothing Agency. Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

29. Fisher, Rev. F., Mrs. and child. Chaplain, Fatehgarh. Mrs. Fisher and child drowned at Manpur Katri. Mr. Fisher killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Lived in No. 10 Bungalow.

30. Fitzgerald, Lieut., Mrs. and child. 10th Native Infantry. All killed at Manpur Katri.

31. Freeman, Rev. J. E., and Mrs. Missionary at Rakha. Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

32. Gaumisse, Mr. and Miss. Both killed on Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

33. Gibson, Mr., Mrs. and two children. Road Overseer. Mr. Gibson killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Remainder on the 15th. Lived on site of present Central Jail.

34. Goldie, Colonel A. and the Misses Eliza, Mary and Emily. Military Auditor General. Formerly belonged to the 46th Native Infantry. Colonel Goldie wounded in hand during siege of Fort. Miss Emily Goldie killed at Singhirampur. Remainder at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

35. Guise, Mr. and Mrs. Had been tutor to Maharajah Duleep Singh, and afterwards went into partnership with Maclean (No. 57). Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June. Lived in a small Bungalow near gate of No. 2.

36. Hammond, Sergeant and Mrs. Gun-carriage Agency. Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

37. Heathcote, Dr. T. G., Mrs. and two children Surgeon to 10th Native Infantry. Dr. Heathcote killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Remainder on the 15th. Lived in No. 19 Bungalow.

38. Henderson, Ensign, 10th Native Infantry. Officiating Adjutant. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Lived in No. 16 Bungalow.

39. Hine, Messrs. A. and W. Clerks in Collector's office. Both escaped. Lived on the site of the Gracey Club. A. Hine was still alive in 1880.

40. Hine, Miss. Killed on the Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

41. Humphreys, Mr. Servant to Colonel Tucker. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

42. Ives, Mr., Mrs. and Miss. Tent Manufacturer, and Agent to the North-West Dak Coy. Miss Ives killed by round shot at Ganga Rui Katri on the 11th June. Remainder at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

43. James, Mr. E. Assistant Opium Agent. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

44. Jennings (Jr.), Mrs. and five children. Killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

45. Johnson, Rev. A. O. and Mrs. Missionary at Barhpur. Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

46. Jones, Mr. Gavin S. Engineer, G. I. P. Railway. On leave and staying with his brother, No. 47. Wounded during second boat journey, and escaped. Wrote an account of his adventures.

47. Jones, Mr. J. M., Mrs. and child. Indigo Planter. Lived near Rajah of Tirwa's present house. Mr. Jones was killed during the siege of the Fort. Mrs. Jones and child on the Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

48. Jons, Conductor, Mrs. and four children. Also Mr. Jim, son-in-law. Engineer in Gun-carriage Agency. All killed at Manpur Katri except one daughter (European) who was killed on Parade Ground on the 23rd July. The other children and his (second) wife were Anglo-Indians.

49. Joyce, Mr. Merchant. Killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

50. Kew, Mr. J. B., Mrs. and three children, and Miss Kew. Postmaster. Mr. Kew killed on Parade Ground on the 23rd July. Remainder at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

51. Kemball, Miss Dolly. Daughter of pensioned Asst. Comissary Robert Kemball, who came here in 1836. Used to live near present Mess, and at time of Mutiny in the (old) Circular Road. Saved by one Pitam Singh of Bholepur with the Hines.

52. Lang, Miss Nancy. Maid servant to Mr. Lowis. Killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

53. Lowis, Mr. R. N., Mrs. and three children. Joint Magistrate. Mr. Lowis drowned near Bithur on way to Cawnpore. Remainder killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July. Lived in M. E. S. Bungalow in Colonelganj.

54. Lows, Mr., Mrs. and two children. Head Blacksmith, Gun-carriage Agency. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

55. Macdonald, Mr. and two children. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

56. Macklin, Mr., Mrs. and eight children. Head Clerk in Collector's office. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

57. Maclean, Mr. and two Misses. Indigo Planter. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June. Lived in No. 2 Bungalow.

58. MacMullin, Rev. R. M. and Mrs. Missionary, Rakha. Both killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

59. Madden, Mr., Mrs., three children, and two Misses Madden. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June. Lived in a yellow Bungalow on the site of the present Church.

60. Maltby, Dr. and Mrs. Civil Surgeon. Dr. Maltby wounded at Singhirampur and killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Mrs. Maltby killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

61. Monckton, Lieutenant, Mrs. and child. Bengal Engineers. Executive Engineer, Fatehgarh. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

62. Morgan, James. Anglo-Indian Clerk in Collectorate. Escaped.

63. Munro, Major Robert, 10th N. I. Killed by a round shot near Bithur on the 9th July. Lived in No. 16 Bungalow.

64. O'Connor, Sarah E. On the 25th October 1857 gave Behari, cook, a chit saying that he had saved her at Fatehgarh and conveyed her to Agra, where the chit was written. Her father, P. O'Connor, was Superintendent of Gavoner's Indigo Works in 1832.

65. Palmer, Mr. J. J., Mrs. and nine children. Deputy Magistrate and Treasury Officer. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June, except one child who died on the journey.

66. Phillimore, Captain W. T., 10th N. I. Was married, but his wife had left before the Mutiny. Wounded during the siege of the Fort. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

67. Phillott, Major J., 10th N. I. Married, but his wife had left for Allahabad by road on the 23rd May. Killed at Manpur Katri.

68. Potter, Miss Harriet. Aged 25. Daughter of a Pensioner. Lived in No. 14 Bungalow. Was captured by rebels on the Mall, but rescued by a Rajput of Kutlapur, a village across the Ganges opposite the Fort, where she was hidden till after the Mutiny.

69. Probyn, Mr. W. G., Mrs. and four children. District Magistrate and Collector. Lived in present Judge's Bungalow, opposite the Company Bagh. Two children died in Khasaura village. The rest escaped to Cawnpore. Mr. Probyn retired in 1877 and died in 1911. A brother of Sir Dighton Probyn.

70. Ray, the Misses R. and E. Killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

71. Redman, Sergeant, Mrs. and two children. Qr. Mr. Sergeant 10th N. I. All killed at Manpur Katri.

72. Roach, Sergeant, Mrs. and two children. Road Overseer. Sergeant Roach killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Remainder on the 15th.

73. Robertson, Major A., Mrs. and one child. Bengal Artillery, and Officiating Gun-carriage Agent. Major Robertson died of wounds, sustained at Manpur Katri; on the 17th September 1857 Buried at Baramau, Tehsil Bilgram, Hardoi District, on the banks of the Ganges. Mrs. Robertson and child drowned at Manpur Katri.

74. Rohan, Conductor M., Mrs. and nine children. Carpenter in the Gun-carriage Agency. Conductor Rohan killed at Singhirampur. Remainder at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

75. Russell, Mr. W. Clerk. Killed on the Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

76. Shepherd, Mrs. E., Miss Mary Shepherd, and three children. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June.

77. Shiels, Mr., Mrs. and two children. Schoolmaster. All killed at Cawnpore on the 12th June. Lived in a bungalow behind the servants' quarters of the present No. 6.

78. Simpson, Lieutenant, 10th N. I. Killed at Manpur Katri. Lived in No. 16 Bungalow.

79. Smith, Colonel G. A., Mrs. and one child. 10th N. I., and formerly 47th N. I. All killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July. Lived in No. 5 Bungalow, on the site of the present Mess.

80. Sturt, Mrs. and Miss. Mrs. Sturt escaped by hiding in a stack of tamarisk and then crossing the river to a friendly village. Miss Sturt killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

81. Sutherland, Mr., Mrs. and three children. Merchant. Mr. Sutherland and one child killed at Manpur Katri. Mrs. Sutherland severely wounded at Manpur Katri, where captured with two children. All these killed on Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

82. Swetenham, Lieutenant C. W., 10th N. I. Wounded in back at Singhirampur. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July. Lived in No. 16 Bungalow.

83. Thomson, Miss. Said in one statement to be a sister of Mrs. Robertson, with whom she was living. Drowned at Manpur Katri.

84. Thornhill, Mr. R. B., Mrs. and two children. District Judge. Wounded accidentally during the siege of the Fort. All killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

85. Tucker, Colonel T. Tudor, Mrs. and four children. 8th Regiment of Cavalry and Clothing Agency. Colonel Tucker killed in Fort on the 28th June. Remainder at Cawnpore on the 15th July. Lived in a Bungalow in present Company Bagh, opposite gate of Police Superintendent's Bungalow.

86. Turton, Mr. E. Clerk. Killed on the Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

87. Vibart, Captain E. C., 2nd Light Cavalry. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

88. Wrixon, Mr. W. M. Musician in 10th N. I. Band. Killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

89. Wrixon, Jr. Musician in 10th N. I. Band. Killed in Major Robertson's boat at Manpur Katri on the 4th July. He is the musician mentioned by Mr. Gavin Jones as getting up in the boat.

APPENDIX V.

List of persons killed on the Parade Ground on the 23rd July.

CAPTURED AT MANPUR KATRI.

1. Mrs. Sutherland. (Wounded).
2. Miss Sutherland.
3. Master Sutherland.
4. Mrs. J. M. Jones. (Wounded).
5. Mrs. Jones' daughter. (Wounded).
6. Mrs. Jones' mother.
7. Daughter of Conductor Jons.
8. Dhaukal Parshad, Schoolmaster.
13. Rebecca, his wife, and four children.

CAPTURED AT FATEHGARH.

14. Miss Hine.
15. Mrs. Dick.
16. Mother of Mr. Jennings.
17. Mother of Mr. Anderson.
18. Mother of Mr. Macklin.
19. Mr. Brierley's sister-in-law's mother.
20. Mr. Gaumisse.
21. Miss Gaumisse.
22. Mr. Atkins.
23. Mrs. Atkins.
24. Miss Atkins.
25. Master Atkins.
26. Mr. Kew.
27. Mr. Edgar Turton.
28. Mr. Paton.
29. Mr. William.
30. Mr. John.
31. Master Dick.
32. The unknown young man.

APPENDIX VI.

Precis of Fatehgarh Inhabitants who lost their lives.

Place and date.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Remarks.
Sikandarpur, 3-6-1857.	...	1	...	Wife of Canal Overseer.
River Ganges, 1st Boat Journey.	...	...	1	Child of Mr. Palmer.
Cawnpore, 11-6-1857 ...	?	3	2	Ganga Rui Katri.
Cawnpore, Savada Kothi, 12-6-1857.	25?	33	52	Some of the men were killed on 11-6-1857.
Siriapur, end of June ...	1	...	...	Captain Bignell.
Fatehgarh, 18-6-1857 ...	1	1	...	One bandsman and Mrs. Collins.
Fatehgarh, 19-6-1857 ...	2	...	1	Two Anglo-Indians at Shisham Bagh and Miss Collins.
Siege of Fort, 18-6-1857 —3-7-1857.	3	...	...	
Manpur Katri, 14-7-1857.	11	6	10	
Singhirampur, 4-7-1857.	1	1	1	
Bithur, 9-7-1857 ...	2	...	...	
Cawnpore, Savada Kothi, 10-7-1857	17	...	...	
Cawnpore, Bibighar, 15-7-1857.	3	16	25	

(*Contd.*)

Place and date.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Remarks.
Parade Ground, 23-7-'57.	9	13	10	
Kamalganj, end of July.	1	...	...	
Baramao, 17-9-1857 ...	1	...	...	
Khasaura, August/September.	...	...	2	
TOTALS ...	77	74	104	

APPENDIX VII.

Some Inscriptions.

1. On the Memorial Well in the Churchyard of All Saints Memorial Church at Fatehgarh.

   "Persecuted but not forgotten. Erected by the Government, North-Western Provinces, to the memory of the Christian residents of Futtehgurh in the year of Our Lord 1857, who perished in the troubles of that period. The bodies of some lie in the well beneath; of others the resting place is unknown; yet not one of them is forgotten before God. The Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them and shall lead them to living waters, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

2. On the Memorial Well at Cawnpore, in memory of the victims of the Bibighar massacre.

   "Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children, who, near this spot, were cruelly massacred by the followers of the rebel, Nana Dhoondo Punt of Bithoor, and cast, the dying with the dead, into the well below, on the 15th day of July, MDCCCLVII."

3. In the Rakha Mission Church, Fatehgarh.

   "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John E. Freeman and Mrs. Elizabeth Freeman, the Rev. D. E. Campbell and Maria J. Campbell, with their children Fanny and Willie, the Rev. A. O. Johnson and Mrs. Amanda Johnson, and the Rev. Robt. McMullin and Mrs. Sarah C. McMullin, Missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, who were put to death at Cawnpore by the Insurgents on the 12th or 13th June, 1857. Also of Dhaukal Parshad, Headmaster of the Mission High School, and of his wife and four children, who were put to death at Fatehgarh about the......July 1857."

4. At Khasaura, Bilgram Tehsil, Hardoi District.

"Sacred to the memory of Elliot Markillof, born 25th March 1857, died 25th July 1857; and of Letitia Domina, born 7th February 1856, died 12th August 1857, the beloved children of William George Probyn, Esq., C. S. Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of God."

5. At Baramau, Bilgram Tehsil, Hardoi District.

"The grave of Alexander Robertson, Brevet-Major of the Bengal Artillery, and Gun Carriage Agent, Fatehgarh, who died of wounds inflicted by the insurgent mutineers on the 17th September 1857. His memory lives in the hearts of his brother officers and friends, a few of whom have erected this tomb."

6. At Gangiri, Atrauli Tehsil, Aligarh District.

"In memory of the brave men who fell in the hour of victory at Gangiri on 14th December 1857, and whose mortal remains rest here upon the field of battle; George Wardlow, Captain; John Hudson, Lieutenant; Sydney Vyse, Lieutenant; Joseph Barnett, Private; Robert Chapman, Private; Walter Cosser, Private; Allen Eastwood, Private; all of H. M's. 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers), and John Dyson, Private; Henry Trampton, Private; of H. M's. 9th (Queen's) Lancers.'

7. Three Inscriptions in St. Paul's Churchyard, Mainpuri.

"Sacred to the memory of Richard Wilkinson Fayrer, Esquire, who fell treacherously murdered by his own men when on duty commanding a detachment of Oude Irregular Cavalry near Mynpoory on the 1st June 1857. *Aetat* 23. This stone is placed here in affectionate remembrance of his brother by J. Fayrer, M.D., Surgeon, Bengal Army."

"Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant George Douglas Barbor, Adjutant, 2nd Oude Irregular Cavalry, born 28th October

1829. He was killed by the men of his own Regiment while on detached command near Mynpoorie on the 1st of June 1857."

"Beneath this tomb rest the mortal remains of Fletcher F. C. Hayes, M.A., Captain in the 62nd Regiment and Military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B. He was an accomplished scholar and a distinguished soldier. At the commencement of the great Indian Mutiny he was treacherously slain near this station on the 1st June 1857, while in the discharge of an important duty for which he had volunteered. Born in Calcutta, January the 9th, 1818, he was the only son of Commodore Sir John Hayes and Catherine, his wife. This tomb is erected by his bereaved mother."

8. Two inscriptions at Rudamau, Bilgram Tehsil, Hardoi District.

"Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel, 93rd Royal Highlanders. Born 3rd March 1821. Killed at Ruiya, 15th April 1858."

NOTE.—Blunt says that this is probably only a cenotaph, and there is a local tradition that it is empty. The word 'Royal' in the name of the Regiment is an error.

"Sacred to the memory of Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, Lieutenant Charles Douglas, 42nd Royal Highlanders, Lieutenant H. Willoughby, 4th Punjab Infantry, Lieutenant Harington, Royal Artillery, who fell at Fort Ruiya on the 15th April 1858."

NOTE.—Blunt points out that 'H. Willoughby' is a mistake. The initials should be 'E.C.P.' The name of Ensign Bramley, 42nd Royal Highlanders, is also omitted.

APPENDIX VIII.

Discharge Certificate.

To all officers Civil and Military whom it may concern.

This is to certify that the bearer hereof Akber Shah Khan Sowar, is discharged from the 5th Troop, 17th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry, on the Bengal Establishment, at his own request, having served in the same Corps for four years, one month and sixteen days, and having first received a just, full and true account of all his pay and all other demands from the Hon'ble Company from the time of his first enlisting into their service to this date as appears by his receipt on the other side.

Shumshabad: (Sd.) P. R. Hockin, Captain,
1st April, 1857. Offg. Adjutant.

(Note :—Across the above is written "Character Good.")

(Reverse.)

I acknowledge to have received from the Hon'ble Company a just, full and true account of all my pay, arrears of pay and all other demands from the said Company from the time of my first enlisting into their service to the 1st of April 1857.

(Sd.) Naib Risaldar.
(Sd.) Woordee Major. (Sd.) Sowar.

* * * * *

(Note :—The signatures on the back are by seal impressions. The Certificate is not printed, but written on half a sheet of coarse blue foolscap paper.)

LEAVE CERTIFICATE.

Certified that Sepoy Ootum Singh, No. 625, of the Light Company 31st Regt., N. I.; had leave to be absent from his Corps for 30 days from 1st to 30th June 1857 and to proceed to Soondurpore in the Purhannah (or Thanadaree) Purumnaggur and District of Fatty Ghur.

Saugor: 1st June 1857.

(Sd.) Henry G. N. Spens.
Ensign.
In charge Lt. Co. 31 Regt., N. I.

Examined.

(Sd.) H. Fellowes,
Lieutt.
Offg. Adjutt., 31st Regt., N. I.

(Sd.) W. P. Hampton,
Major,
Commanding, 31st Regt., N. I.

* * * * * * *

(NOTE.:—This is also in manuscript. The 31st N. I. is now the 1st Bn., 7th Rajput Regiment (Q. V. O. L. I.), and was one of the few Regiments of the Bengal Army not disarmed as a precautionary measure. There are, however, black sheep in every fold, and the bearer of this was sentenced to transportation for life for failing to rejoin on the expiry of his leave.)

END.